

BUDDHAGHOSHA'S PARABLES:

TRANSLATED FROM BURMESE

BY CAPTAIN T. ROGERS, R.E.

With an Introduction,

CONTAINING

BUDDHA'S DHAMMAPADA,

OR "PATH OF VIRTUE,"

TRANSLATED FROM PÂLI

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INTRODUCTION.

BY PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER

A FEW words seem required to explain the origin and history of this book. About the end of last year, Captain Rogers, after having spent some years in Burmah, returned to England, and as he had paid particular attention to the study of Burmese, he was anxious, while enjoying the leisure of his furlough, to translate some Burmese work that might be useful to Oriental students. He first translated 'The History of Prince Theemeewizaya,' being one of the former lives (*ġâtaka*) of Buddha. Although this work contains many things that are of interest to the student of Buddhism, it was impossible to find a publisher for it. I then advised Captain Rogers to undertake a translation of the parables which are contained in Buddhaghosha's 'Commentary on the Dhammapada.' Many of these fables had been published in Pâli by Dr Fausboll, at the end of his edition of the 'Dhammapada,' but as the MSS. used by him were very defective, the Pâli text of these parables had only excited, but had not satisfied the curiosity of Oriental scholars. It is well known that the Burmese look upon Buddhaghosha, not indeed as having introduced Bud-

dhism into Burmah, but as having brought the most important works of Buddhist literature to the shores of the Gulf of Martaban, and I therefore hoped that the Burmese translation of Buddhaghosha's parables would be as trustworthy as the Pali original. In this expectation, however, I was disappointed. When I received the first instalment of the translation by Captain Rogers, I saw at once that it gave a small number only of the stories contained in Buddhaghosha's Pali original, and that the Burmese translation, though literal in some parts, was generally only a free rendering of the Pali text. Nor does it seem as if the translator had always understood the text of Buddhaghosha correctly. Thus in the very first story, we read in the Pali text that, when the wife of Mahasvanna had her first son, she called him Pali, but when she had a second, she called the elder Mahâ pâla, i. e. Great Pâla, and the second, Kulla pâla, i. e. Little Pali. In the translation all this is lost, and we simply read "After ten months a son was born, to whom he gave the name of Mahâpali, because he had obtained him through his prayers to the Nat. After this, another son was born, who received the name of Kullapala."

Though, for a time, I thought that the Burmese version of these parables might be a shorter, and possibly a more original collection, yet passages like the one just quoted would hardly allow of such a view. On the contrary, the more I saw of the translation of the Burmese parables, the more I felt convinced that the Burmese text was an abstract of Buddhaghosha's work, giving only a certain number of Buddhaghosha's stories, and most of them considerably abridged, and sometimes altered. As Dr Fausboll has given of

many of these stories the titles only, it was impossible in every case to compare the Burmese version with the Pali original. But, on the whole, I do not expect that the opinion which I have formed of the Burmese translation will be materially modified when we have the whole of the Pali text to compare with it, and we must wait till we receive from Burmese scholars an explanation of the extraordinary changes which Buddhaghosha's original has undergone in the hands of the Burmese translator. My own opinion is, that there must be a more complete and more accurate Burmese translation of Buddhaghosha's work, and that what we have now before us is only the translation of a popular edition of the larger work. Towards the end of the Burmese translation there are several additions, evidently from a different source, in one case, as stated (p. 174), from the 'Kammapabbhedadīpa.'

By a strange coincidence, I received at the very time when Captain Rogers had finished his translation, another translation of the same work by Captain Sheffield Grace. It was not intended for publication, but sent to me for my private use. I obtained Captain Sheffield Grace's permission to send his manuscript to Captain Rogers, who, as will be seen from his preface, derived much advantage from it while revising his own MS. for the press.

Although I felt disappointed at the character of the Burmese translation, yet I was most anxious that the labours of Captain Rogers and Captain Sheffield Grace should not have been in vain. Even such as they are these parables are full of interest, not only for a study of Buddhism, but likewise for the history of fables and apologues in their migrations from East to West,

or from West to East. This important chapter in the literary history of the ancient world, which since the days of Sylvestre de Sacy has attracted so much attention, and has of late been so ably treated by Professor Benfey and others, cannot be considered as finally closed without a far more exhaustive study of these Buddhist fables, many of them identically the same as the fables of the *Pañātantra*, and as the fables of *Æsop*. Nay I thought that, if it were only to give to the world that one apologue of *Kisāgotamī* (p 100), this small collection of Buddhist parables deserved to be published, and I hoped, moreover, that by the publication of this first instalment, an impulse would be given that might lead to a complete translation, either from Pāli or from Burmese, of all the fables contained in the 'Commentary on the *Dhammapada*'

However, in spite of my pleading, no publisher, not even Mr Trubner, who certainly has shown no lack of faith in Oriental literature, would undertake the risk of publishing this collection of parables, except on condition that I should write an introduction. Though my hands were full of work at the time, and my attention almost exclusively occupied with Vedic researches, yet I felt so reluctant to let this collection of Buddhist fables remain unpublished, that I agreed to take my part in the work as soon as the first volume of my translation of the '*Rig Veda*' should be carried through the press.

As the parables which Captain Rogers translated from Burmese, were originally written in Pāli, and formed part of Buddhaghosha's '*Commentary on the Dhammapada*,' i. e. '*The Path of Virtue*,' I thought that the most useful contribution that I could offer,

by way of introduction, would be a translation of the original of the Dhammapada. The Dhammapada forms part of the Buddhistic canon, and consists of 423 verses,¹ which are believed to contain the utterances of Buddha himself. It is in explaining these verses that Buddhaghosha gives for each verse a parable, which is to illustrate the meaning of the verse, and is believed to have been uttered by Buddha, in his intercourse with his disciples, or in preaching to the multitudes that came to hear him. In translating these verses, I have followed the edition of the Pāli text, published in 1855 by Dr Fausboll, and I have derived great advantage from his Latin translation, his notes, and his copious extracts from Buddhaghosha's commentary. I have also con-

¹ That there should be some differences in the exact number of these gāthās or verses is but natural. In a short index at the end of the work, the number of chapters is given as twenty six. This agrees with our text. The sum total too of the verses as there given viz 423 agrees with the number of verses which Buddhaghosha had before him when writing his commentary at the beginning of the fifth century of our era. It is only when the number of verses in each chapter is given that some slight differences occur. Cap v is said to contain 17 instead of 16 verses, cap xii 12 instead of 10 cap xiv 16 instead of 18 cap xi 16 instead of 17 cap xxiv 22 instead of 26 cap xxvi 40 instead of 41 which would give altogether five verses less than we actually possess. The cause of this difference may be either in the wording of the index itself (and we actually find in it a various reading *malavagge ka visati* instead of *malavagge ekavīsati* see Fausboll p 430) or in the occasional counting of two verses as one or of one as two. Thus in cap v we get 16 instead of 17 verses if we take each verse to consist of two lines only, and not as in vv 74 and 75 of three. Under all circumstances the difference is trifling and we may be satisfied that we possess in our MSS the same text which Buddhaghosha knew in the fifth century of our era.

sulted translations, either of the whole of the Dhammapada, or of portions of it, by Weber, Gogerly,¹ Upham, Burnouf, and others. Though it will be seen that in many places my translation differs from those of my predecessors, I can only claim for myself the name of a very humble gleaner in the field of Pâli literature. The greatest credit is due to Dr Fausboll, whose *editio princeps* of the Dhammapada will mark for ever an important epoch in the history of Pâli scholarship, and though later critics have been able to point out some mistakes both in his text and in his translation, the value of their labours is not to be compared with that of the work accomplished single-handed by that eminent Danish scholar.

ON THE AGE OF THE PARABLES AND OF THE DHAMMAPADA

The age of Buddhaghosha can be fixed with greater accuracy than most dates in the literary history of India, for not only his name, but the circumstances of his life and his literary activity are described in the *Mahâvansa*, the history of Ceylon, by what may be called almost a contemporary witness. The *Mahâvansa*, lit. the genealogy of the great,² or the great genealogy, is, up to the reign of Dhatusenā, the work of Mahanāma. It was founded on the *Dipavansa*, also called *Mahavansa*, a more ancient history of the

¹ Several of the chapters have been translated by Mr Gogerly and have appeared in *The Friend* vol. iv. 1840 (Spence Hardy *Eastern Monachism* p. 169).

² See Mahanāma's own explanations given in the *Tikā*. *Mājavansa* Introduction p. xxxi.

island of Ceylon, which ended with the reign of Mahâsena, who died 302 A D MSS of the *Dīpavansa* are said to exist, and there is a hope of its being published Mahânâma, who lived during the reign of King Dhâtusena, 459–477, wrote the whole history of the island over again, and carried it on to his own time He also wrote a commentary on this work, but that commentary extends only as far as the forty eighth verse of the thirty seventh chapter, i e as far as the reign of Mahâsena, who died in 502 A D¹ As it breaks off exactly where the older history, the *Dīpavansa*, is said to have ended, it seems most likely that Mahânâma embodied in it the results of his own researches into the ancient history of Ceylon, while for his continuation of the work, from the death of Mahâsena to his own time, no such commentary was wanted It is difficult to determine whether the thirty eighth as well as the thirty-seventh chapter came from the pen of Mahânâma, for the *Mahāvansa* was afterwards continued by different writers to the middle of the last century, but, taking into account all the circumstances of the case, it is most probable that Mahânâma carried on the history to his own time, to the death of Dhâtusena or Dâsen Kelliya, who died in 477² This Dhâtusena was the nephew of the historian Mahânâma, and owed the throne to the protection of his uncle Dhâtusena was in fact the restorer of a national dynasty, and after having defeated the foreign usurpers (the

¹ After the forty eighth verse the text as published by Turnour puts *Mahāvanso nittito* the *Mahāvansa* is finished and after a new invocation of Buddha the history is continued with the forty ninth verse The title *Mahāvansa* as here employed seems to refer to the *Dīpavansa*

² *Mahāvansa* Introduction p xxxi

Damilo dynasty) "he restored the religion which had been set aside by the foreigners"¹ Among his many pious acts, it is particularly mentioned that he gave a thousand, and ordered the *Dipavansa* to be promulgated²

As Mahânâma was the uncle of Dhâtusena, who reigned from 459-477, he may be considered a trustworthy witness with regard to facts that occurred between 410 and 432 Now the literary activity of Buddhaghosha in Ceylon falls in that period, and this is what Mahânâma relates of him ('Mahâvansa,' p 250)

"A Brahman youth, born in the neighbourhood of the terrace of the great Bo tree (in Magadha), accomplished in the 'vijja' (knowledge) and 'sippa' (art), who had achieved the knowledge of the three Vedas, and possessed great aptitude in attaining acquirements, indefatigable as a schismatic disputant, and himself a schismatic wanderer over Gambudipa, established himself, in the character of a disputant, in a certain vihâra, and was in the habit of rehearsing, by night and by day with clasped hands, a discourse which he had learned, perfect in all its component parts, and sustained throughout in the same lofty strain A certain mahathera, Revata, becoming acquainted with him there, and (saying to himself), 'This individual

¹ Mahâvansa p 250

² Mahâv p 257 And that he might also promulgate the contents of the *Dipavansa* distributing a thousand pieces he caused it to be read aloud thoroughly The text has *datva sahasram dipetum Dipavansam samâdasi* having given a thousand he ordered the *Dipavansa* to be rendered illustrious or to be copied (See Westergaard Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der Indischen Geschichte Breslau 1867 p 33 and Mahavansa Introduction p xxxi 1 2)

is a person of profound knowledge, it will be worthy (of me) to convert him;" inquired, "Who is this who is braying like an ass?" The Brâhman replied to him, "Thou canst define, then, the meaning conveyed in the bray of asses." On the Thera rejoining, "I can define it;" he (the Brâhman) exhibited the extent of the knowledge he possessed. The Thera criticized each of his propositions, and pointed out in what respect they were fallacious. He who had been thus refuted, said, "Well, then, descend to thy own creed;" and he propounded to him a passage from the 'Abhidhamma' (of the Pitakattaya). He (the Brâhman) could not divine the signification of that passage, and inquired, "Whose manta is this?"—"It is Buddha's manta." On his exclaiming, "Impart it to me;" the Thera replied, "Enter the sacerdotal order." He who was desirous of acquiring the knowledge of the 'Pitakattaya,' subsequently coming to this conviction, "This is the sole road" (to salvation), became a convert to that faith. As he was as profound in his eloquence (ghosa) as Buddha himself, they conferred on him the appellation of Buddha-ghosa (the voice of Buddha); and throughout the world he became as renowned as Buddha. Having there (in Gambudîpa) composed an original work called 'Nânodaya' (Rise of Knowledge), he, at the same time, wrote the chapter called "Atthasâlini, on the Dhammasangani" (one of the Commentaries on the 'Abhidhamma').

"Revata Thera then observing that he was desirous of undertaking the compilation of a general commentary on the 'Pitakattaya,' thus addressed him: "The text alone of the 'Pitakattaya' has been preserved in

this land, the 'Atthakathâ' are not extant here, nor is there any version to be found of the schisms (vada) complete. The Singhalese 'Atthakathâ' are genuine. They were composed in the Singhalese language by the inspired and profoundly wise Mahinda, who had previously consulted the discourses of Buddha, authenticated at the theri convocations, and the dissertations and arguments of Sâriputta and others, and they are extant among the Singhalese. Preparing for this, and studying the same, translate them according to the rules of the grammar of the Mâgadhas. It will be an act conducive to the welfare of the whole world."

"Having been thus advised, this eminently wise personage rejoicing therein, departed from thence, and visited this island in the reign of this monarch (*i. e.* Mahânâma). On reaching the Mahâvihâra (at Anurâdhapura), he entered the Mahâpadhâna hall, the most splendid of the apartments in the vihâra, and listened to the Singhalese Atthakathâ, and the Theravâda, from the beginning to the end, propounded by the theri Sanghapâla, and became thoroughly convinced that they conveyed the true meaning of the doctrines of the Lord of Dhamma. Thereupon paying reverential respect to the priesthood, he thus petitioned: "I am desirous of translating the 'Atthakathâ,' give me access to all your books." The priesthood, for the purpose of testing his qualifications, gave only two gâthas, saying, "Hence prove thy qualification, having satisfied ourselves on this point, we will then let thee have all our books." From these (taking these gâthâ for his text), and consulting the 'Pitakattaya,' together with the 'Atthakatha,' and condensing them into an abridged form, he composed the work called 'The Visuddhi-

magga' Thereupon, having assembled the priesthood, who had acquired a thorough knowledge of the doctrines of Buddha, at the bo-tree, he commenced to read out the work he had composed. The devatās, in order that they might make his (Buddhaghosa's) gifts of wisdom celebrated among men, rendered that book invisible. He, however, for a second and third time recomposed it. When he was in the act of producing his book for the third time, for the purpose of propounding it, the devatās restored the other two copies also. The assembled priests then read out the three books simultaneously. In those three versions, neither in a signification nor in a single misplacement by transposition, nay even in the thera-controversies, and in the text (of the 'Pitakattaya') was there, in the measure of a verse or in the letter of a word, the slightest variation. Thereupon, the priesthood rejoicing, again and again fervently shouted forth, saying, "Most assuredly this is Metteya (Buddha) himself," and made over to him the books in which the 'Pitakattaya' were recorded, together with the 'Atthakathā'. Taking up his residence in the secluded Ganthākara vihāra, at Anurādhapura, he translated, according to the grammatical rules of the Māgadhas, which is the root of all languages, the whole of the Singhalese Atthakathā (into Pāli). This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all languages spoken by the human race.

"All the theras and āchāriyas held this compilation in the same estimation as the text (of the 'Pitakattaya'). Thereafter, the objects of his mission having been fulfilled, he returned to Gambudīpa, to worship at the bo-tree (at Uruvelāya, or Uruvilvā, in Māgadha)."

Here we have a simple account of Buddhaghosha¹ and his literary labours written by a man, himself a priest, and who may well have known Buddhaghosha during his stay in Ceylon. It is true that the statement of his writing the same book three times over without a single various reading, partakes a little of the miraculous, but we find similar legends mixed up with accounts of translations of other sacred books, and we cannot contend that writers who believed in such legends are therefore unworthy to be believed as historical witnesses.

The next question which has to be answered is this, Did Buddhaghosha's Parables, and the whole of the commentary in which they are contained, form part of the 'Arthakatha' which he translated from Singhalese into Pali. The answer to this question depends on whether the Dhammapada formed part of the 'Pitakattaya' or not. If the verses of the Dham

¹ The Burmese entertain the highest respect for Buddhaghosha. Bishop Bigandet in his *Life or Legend of Gaudama* (Rangoon 1866) writes: "It is perhaps as well to mention here an epoch which has been at all times famous in the history of Buddhism in Burma. I allude to the voyage which a Religious of Thaton named Budhagosa made to Ceylon in the year of religion 943=400 A.C. The object of this voyage was to procure a copy of the scriptures. He succeeded in his undertaking. He made use of the Burmese or rather Talaing characters in transcribing the manuscripts which were written with the characters of Magatha. The Burmans lay much stress upon that voyage and always carefully note down the year it took place. In fact it is to Budhagosa that the people living on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban owe the possession of the Buddhist scriptures. From Thaton the collection made by Budhagosa was transferred to Pagan six hundred and fifty years after it had been imported from Ceylon."

mapada were contained in the canon, then they were also explained in the Singhalese 'Arthakathâ,' and consequently translated from it into Pâli by Buddhaghosha. Now it is true that the exact place of the Dhammapada in the Buddhistic canon has not yet been pointed out; but if we refer to Appendix iii., printed in Turnour's edition of the 'Mahavansa,' we there find in the third part of the canon, the Sûtra-pitaka, under No. 5, the Kshudraka-nikâya, containing fifteen subdivisions, the second of which is the Dhammapada.

We should, therefore, be perfectly justified in treating the parables contained in Buddhaghosha's Pâli translation of the 'Arthakathâ,' *i. e.* the commentary on the Dhammapada, as part of a much more ancient work, viz. the work of Mahinda, and it is only in deference to an over-cautious criticism that I have claimed no earlier date than that of Buddhaghosha for these curious relics of the fable-literature of India. I have myself on a former occasion¹ pointed out all the objections that can be raised against the authority of Buddhaghosha and Mahinda; but I do not think that scholars calling these parables the parables of Mahinda, if not of Buddha himself, and referring their date to the third century B.C., would expose themselves at present to any formidable criticism.

If we read the pages of the 'Mahâvansa' without prejudice, and make allowance for the exaggerations and superstitions of Oriental writers, we see clearly that the literary work of Buddhaghosha presupposes the existence, in some shape or other, not only of the canonical books, but also of their Singhalese commentary. The Buddhistic canon had been settled in seven-

¹ 'Chips from a German Workshop,' 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 197

ral councils, whether two or three, we need not here inquire¹ It had received its final form at the council held under Asoka in the year 246 B C We are further told in the 'Mahāvansa' that Mahinda, the son of Asoka, who had become a priest, learnt the whole of the Buddhist canon in three years (p 37), and that at the end of the third council he was dispatched to Ceylon, in order to establish there the religion of Buddha (p 71) The king of Ceylon, Devanāmpriya Tishya, was converted, and Buddhism soon became the dominant religion of the island Next follows a statement which will naturally stagger those who are not acquainted with the power of memory if under strict discipline for literary purposes, but which exceeds by no means the limits of what is possible in times when the whole sacred literature of a people is preserved and lives by oral tradition only The Pīṭakatrāya, as well as the Arthakathā, having been collected and settled at the third council in 246 B C, were brought to Ceylon by Mahinda, who promulgated them orally,² the 'Pīṭakatrāya' in Pālī, and the 'Arthakathā' in Singhalese,³ together with additional Arthakathā of

¹ The question of these councils and of their bearing on Indian chronology has been discussed by me in my *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* p 262 *seq* 2nd ed

² Cf Bigandet l c p 387

³ Singhalese being the language of the island would naturally be adopted by Mahinda and his fellow missionaries for communication with the natives If he abstained from translating the canon also into Singhalese this may have been on account of its more sacred character At a later time however, the canon too was translated into Singhalese and as late as the time of Buddhadasa who died 368 A D, we read of a priest profoundly versed in the doctrines who translated the Sūtras, one of the three divi

his own. It does not follow that Mahinda knew the whole of that enormous literature by heart, for, as he was supported by a number of priests, they may well have divided the different sections among them. The same applies to their disciples. But that to the Hindu mind there was nothing exceptional or incredible in such a statement, we see clearly from what is said by Mahânâma at a later period of his history. When he comes to the reign of Vattagâmani,¹ 88-76 B.C., he states "The profoundly wise priests had heretofore orally perpetuated the Pali Pitakatraya and its Artha kathâ (commentaries). At this period these priests, foreseeing the perdition of the people (from the perversions of the true doctrines) assembled, and in order that the religion might endure for ages, recorded the same in books."²

Later than this date, even those who doubt the sions of the Pitakatraya into the Sîhala language (Mahāv. p. 247). A note is added stating that several portions of the other two divisions also of the Pitakatraya have been translated into the Singhalese language and that these alone are consulted by the priests who are unacquainted with Pali. On the other hand, it is stated that the Singhalese text of the Arthakathâ exists no longer (see Spence Hardy 'Legends' p. xxv and p. 69). He states that the text and commentary of the Buddhist canon are believed to contain 29 368 000 letters (*Ibid* p. 66).

¹ See Bhandet I c p. 388.

² See also Spence Hardy 'Legends' p. 192. After the Nirvâna of Buddha for the space of 450 years the text and commentaries and all the works of the Tathâgata were preserved and transmitted by wise priests orally mukha pâthana. But having seen the evils attendant upon this mode of transmission five hundred and fifty arhats of great authority, in the cave called Aloka (Alu) in the province of Malaya in Lankâ under the guardianship of the chief of that province caused the (sacred) books to be written. (Extract from the 'Sâra sangraha'.)

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powers of oral tradition have no right to place the final constitution of the Buddhist canon and its commentaries in Ceylon, nor is there any reason to doubt that such as these texts existed in Ceylon in the first century B C, they existed in the fifth century after Christ, when the commentaries were translated into Pali by Buddhaghosha, and that afterwards they remained unchanged in the MSS preserved by the learned priests of that island. It is easy to shrug one's shoulders, and shake one's head, and to disbelieve everything that can be disbelieved. Of course we cannot bring witnesses back from the grave, still less from the Nirvâna, into which, we trust, many of these ancient worthies have entered. But if we are asked to believe that all this was invented in order to give to the Buddhist canon a fictitious air of antiquity, the achievement would, indeed, be one of consummate skill. When Asoka first met Nigrodha, who was to convert him to the new faith, we read (p 25), that having refreshed the saint with food and beverage which had been prepared for himself, he interrogated the sâmanera on the doctrines propounded by Buddha. It is then said that the sâmanera explained to him the Apramâda-varga. Now this Apramâda varga is the title of the second chapter of the Dhammapada. Its mention here need not prove that the Dhammapada existed previous to the Council of Asoka, 246 B C, but only that Mahânâma believed that it existed before that time. But if we are to suppose that all this was put in on purpose, would it not be too deep laid a scheme for the compiler of the Mahâvansa ?¹

And for what object could all this cunning have

¹ In the account given by Bishop Bigandet (p 377) of the first

been employed? The Buddhists would have believed the most miraculous accounts that might be given of the origin and perpetuation of their sacred writings; why then tell the story so plainly, so baldly, so simply as a matter of fact? I have the greatest respect for really critical scepticism, but a scepticism without any arguments to support it is too cheap a virtue to deserve much consideration. Till we hear some reasons to the contrary, I believe we may safely say that we possess Buddhaghosha's translation of the Arthakathâ as it existed in the fifth century of our era; that the original was first reduced to writing in Ceylon in the first century before our era, having previously existed in the language of Magadha; and that our verses of the Dhammapada are the same which were recited to Asoka, and embodied in the canon of the third council, 246 B.C. This is enough for our purposes: the chronology previous to Asoka, or at least previous to his grandfather, Kandragupta, the ally of Seleucus, belongs to a different class of researches.

As, however, the antiquity and authenticity of the Buddhist literature have of late been called in question in a most summary manner, it may not seem superfluous to show, by one small fact at least, that the fables and parables of Buddhaghosha must have existed *in the very wording in which we possess them*, in the beginning at least of the sixth century of our era. It was at that time that Khosru Anushirvân (531-579) ordered a collection of fables¹ to be translated from Sanskrit into the language of Persia, which

interview between Asoka and Nigrodha, the lines repeated by the priest to the king are likewise taken from the Apramâdavarga

¹ See Benfey, 'Pantschatantra,' vol i p 6

translation became in turn the source of the Arabic and the other numerous translations of that ancient collection of apologues. These Sanskrit fables, as collected in the *Pañkatantra*, have been proved by Prof Benfey to have been borrowed from Buddhistic sources, and I believe we may go even a step further and maintain, that not only the general outlines of these fables, but in some cases the very words, were taken over from Pâli into Sanskrit.

We read in the *Pañkatantra*, II 10, the following verse

*Galam âdaya gakkhanti sahasâ¹ pakshino 'py am
Yava ka vivadishyante patishyanti na samsaya*

“Even these birds fly away quickly taking the net, and when they shall quarrel, they will fall, no doubt.”

This verse recapitulates the story of the birds which are caught in a net, but escape the fowler by agreeing to fly up together at the same moment. The same story is told in the *Hitopadesa*, I 36 (32)

*Samhata tu haranty ete mama gâlam vihamgamâ
Yadâ tu nipatishyanti vasam eshyanti me tadâ*

“Combined indeed do these birds take away my net, but when they fall down, they will then fall into my power.”

The first thing that should be pointed out is, that of these two versions of the same idea, neither is borrowed from the other, neither that of the *Hitopadesa* from the *Pañkatantra*, nor *vice versa*.² They presup

¹ If we read *samhataâ* instead of *sahasâ*, we have to translate Holding together even these birds fly away taking the net

² A third version is found in the *Mahabharata*. Udyoga parva

pose a common source from which they are derived, thus sharing together certain terms in common, and following an independent course in other respects. This common source is a Pâli verse which occurs in the Vattaka-gâtaka, and is quoted by Buddhaghosha in his commentary on the Sûtra-nipâta ¹

*Sammodamânâ gakkhanti gâlam âdâya pakkhu^{ro},
Yadâ te vivadissanti tadâ ehi^{ti} me vasam*

“The birds fly away, taking the net while they are happy together; when they shall quarrel, then they will come into my power.”

If we mark these three verses by the letters P, H, and V., we see that P. takes from V. the words ‘gâlam âdâya gakkhanti pakshinah’ and ‘vivadishyante,’ while H. takes from V. the words ‘vasam eshyanti me tadâ.’ For the rest, H. and P. follow each their own way in transforming the Pâli verse, as best they can, into a Sanskrit verse, and H. with more success than P. The words ‘apy amî’ in P. are mere expletives, ‘patishyanti’ is a poor rendering, and ‘na samsayah’ again is added only in order to fill the verse. Without calling H.

v 2461, where a similar story is told of two birds being caught and escaping from the fowler by agreeing to fly up together. Here we read —

*Pâsam ekam ubhâv etam sabitau harato mama,
Yatra vai vivadishyete tatra me vasam eshyats^h*

“These two united carry off this one net of mine, when they shall quarrel, then they will fall into my power.”

¹ This extract from the commentary was published by Dr. Tausch in the ‘Indische Studien,’ v p 412, and the similarity was pointed out between the verse of Buddhaghosha and the corresponding verses in the ‘Hitopadesa’ and ‘Paññatantra.’ Further comparisons may be seen in Benfey, ‘Paññatantra,’ i p 305, ii pp 450, 540. See also ‘Les Avadânas traduits par Stanislas Julien,’ vol i p 155.

and P together a faithful copy of V I think we may safely say that it would be impossible to explain both the points on which H and P differ and those on which they agree, without admitting that both had before them the Pali verse in the very wording in which we find it in Buddhaghosha's commentary, and which according to Buddhaghosha, was taken from one of the *Gatakas* a portion of the Buddhist canon And this would prove, though one could hardly have thought that after the labours of Burnouf and Lassen and Juhen¹ such proof was still needed that the Buddhist canon and its commentary existed in the very wording in which we now possess them, previous at least to 500 after Christ

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DHAMMAPADA

If we may consider the date of the Dhammapada firmly established and treat its verses if not as the utterances of Buddha at least as what were believed by the members of the Council under Asoka in 246 B.C., to have been the utterances of the founder of their religion its importance for a critical study of the history of Buddhism must be very considerable, for we can hardly ever expect to get nearer to Buddha himself and to his personal teaching I shall try to illustrate this by one or two examples

I pointed out on a former occasion² that if we derive our ideas of Nirvana from the *Abhidharma* : e

¹ On Buddhist books carried to China and translated there previous to the beginning of our era see M. M. s. Ch. ps from a German Workshop 2nd ed. vol. 1 p. 238 seq.

² On the meaning of Nirvana in Ch. ps from a German Workshop 2nd ed. vol. 1 p. 280

the metaphysical portion of the Buddhistic canon, we cannot escape the conclusion that it meant perfect annihilation. Nothing has been brought forward to invalidate Burnouf's statements on this subject, much has since been added, particularly by M. Barthelémy St. Hilaire, to strengthen and support them, and the latest writer on Buddhism, Bishop Bigandet, the Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu, in his 'Life and Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese,' arrives at exactly the same conclusion. No one could suspect the bishop of any prejudice against Buddhism, for he is most candid in his praises of whatever is praiseworthy in that ancient system of religion. Thus he says (p. 494), "The Christian system and the Buddhistic one, though differing from each other in their respective objects and ends as much as truth from error, have, it must be confessed, many striking features of an astonishing resemblance. There are many moral precepts equally commanded and enforced in common by both creeds. It will not be considered rash to assert that most of the moral truths prescribed by the gospel are to be met with in the Buddhistic scriptures." And again (p. 495), "In reading the particulars of the life of the last Buddha Gautama, it is impossible not to feel reminded of many circumstances relating to our Saviour's life, such as it has been sketched by the Evangelists." Yet, in spite of all these excellences, Bishop Bigandet, too, sums up dead against Buddhism, as a religion culminating in atheism and nihilism. "It may be said in favour of Buddhism," he writes (p. viii), "that no philosophico-religious system has ever upheld, to an equal degree, the notions of a saviour and deliverer, and the neces-

sity of his mission for procuring the salvation, in a Buddhist sense, of man. The rôle of Buddha, from beginning to end, is that of a deliverer, who preaches a law designed to procure to man the deliverance from all the miseries he is labouring under. By an inexplicable and deplorable eccentricity, the pretended saviour, after having taught man the way to deliver himself from the tyranny of his passions, leads him, after all, into the bottomless gulf of 'total annihilation'."

That Buddha was an atheist, at least in one sense of the word, cannot be denied, but whether he believed in a total annihilation of the soul as the highest goal of religion, is a different question. The gods whom he found worshipped by the multitude, were the gods of the Vedas and the Brâhmanas, such as Indra, Agni, and Yama, and in the divinity of such deities, Buddha certainly did not believe. He never argues against their existence, on the contrary, he treats the old gods as superhuman beings, and promises his followers who have not yet reached the highest knowledge, but have acquired merit by a virtuous life, that after death they shall be born again in the world of the gods, and enjoy divine bliss in company with these deities. Similarly he threatens the wicked that after death they shall meet with their punishment in the subterranean abodes and hells, where Asuras, Sarpas, Pretas, and other spirits dwell. The belief in these beings was so firmly rooted in the popular belief and language that even the founder of a new religion could not have dared to reason them away, and there was so little in the doctrine of Buddha that appealed to the senses or lent itself to artistic representation, whether in painting or sculpture, that nothing remained to Buddhist artists

but to fall back for their own purposes on the old mythology, or at least on the popular superstition, the fairy and snake tales of the people¹

The gods, in general, are frequently mentioned in the Dhammapada —

V, 177 *The uncharitable do not go to the world of the gods*

V 224 *Speak the truth, do not yield to anger, give, if thou art asked, from the little thou hast, by those steps thou wilt go near the gods*

V 417 *He who, after leaving all bondage to men has risen above all bondage to the gods, him I call indeed a Brâhmana*

In vv 44 and 45 three worlds are mentioned, the earth, the world of Yama (the lord of the departed), and the world of the gods, and in v 126 we find hell (niraya), earth, heaven (svarga), and Nirvâna

In v 56 it is said that the odour of excellent

¹ This may be seen from the curious ornamentations of Buddhist temples some of which were lately published by Mr Fergusson. Those of the Sanchi tope are taken from drawings executed for the late East India Company by Lieutenant (now Lieutenant Colonel) Maisey and from photographs by Lieutenant Waterhouse those of the Amravati tope are photographed from the sculptured slabs sent home by Colonel Mackenzie formerly exhibited in the Museum of the East India Company and from another valuable collection sent home by Sir Walter Elliot. Architectural evidence is supposed to fix the date of the Sanchi topes from about 250-100 B.C. that of the gateways in the first century A.D. while the date of the Amravati buildings is referred to the fourth century A.D. No one would venture to doubt Mr Fergusson's authority within the sphere of architectural chronology but we want something more than mere affirmation when he says (p. 56) that the earliest of the (Buddhist) scriptures we have were not reduced to writing in their present form before the fifth century after Christ.

people rises up to the gods, in vv 94 and 181, that the gods envy him whose senses have been subdued, in v 366, that they praise a Bhikkhu who is contented, pure, and not slothful (cf v 230), in v 224, that good people go near the gods, in v 236, that a man who is free from guilt will enter into the heavenly world of the elect (the *ariya*), while in v 187 we read of heavenly pleasures that fail to satisfy the disciples of Buddha

Individual deities, too, are mentioned Of Indra, who is called *Maghavan*, it is said in v 30, that by perseverance he rose to the lordship of the gods¹ In vv 107 and 392 the worship of *Agni*, or fire, is spoken of as established among the Brahmins *Yama*, as the lord of the departed, occurs in vv 44, 237, and he seems to be the same as *Maṅkurāga*, the king of death, mentioned in vv 45, 170 The men or messengers of *Yama* are spoken of in v 235, death itself is represented as *Antika*, vv 48, 288, or as *Maṅku*, in v 46 the king of death (*maṅkurāga*) is mentioned together with *Mara*, in v 48 he seems to be identified with *Mara*, the tempter (v 48, note)

This *Mara*, the tempter, the great antagonist of Buddha, as well as of his followers, is a very important personage in the Buddhist scriptures He is in many places the representative of evil, the evil spirit, or, in Christian terminology, the devil, conquered by Buddha, but not destroyed by him In the *Dhammapada* his character is less mythological than in other Buddhist writings His retinue is, however, mentioned (v 175), and his flower pointed arrow (v 46) reminds

¹ There is a curious story of Buddha dividing his honours with *Sakka* (*Sakra*) or *Indra* on p 162 of the *Parables*

one of the Hindu god of love. We read that Mâra will overcome the careless, but not the faithful (vv. 7, 8, 57); that men try to escape from his dominion (v. 34), and his snares (vv. 37, 276, 350); that he should be attacked with the weapon of knowledge (v. 40); that the wise, who have conquered him, are led out of this world (v. 175). In vv. 104 and 105 we find a curious climax, if it is intended as such, from a god to a Gandharva, thence to Mâra, and finally to Brahman, all of whom are represented as powerless against a man who has conquered himself. In v. 230, too, Brahman is mentioned, and, as it would seem, as a being superior to the gods.

But although these gods and demons were recognized in the religion of Buddha, and had palaces, gardens, and courts assigned to them, hardly inferior to those which they possessed under the old *regime*, they were deprived of all their sovereign rights. Although, according to the Buddhists, the worlds of the gods last for millions of years, they must perish at the end of every kalpa with the gods and with the spirits who, in the circle of births, have raised themselves to the world of the gods. Indeed, the reorganization of the spirit-world in the hands of Buddha goes further still. Already before Buddha, the Brahmans had left the low stand-point of mythological polytheism, and had risen to the conception of the Brahman, as the absolute divine, or super-divine being. To this Brahman also, who, in the Dhammapada, already appears as superior to the gods, a place is assigned in the Buddhist demonology. Over and above the world of the gods with its six paradises, the sixteen Brahma-worlds are erected,—worlds, not to be attained through virtue,

and piety only, but through inner contemplation, through knowledge and enlightenment

The dwellers in these Brahma-worlds are more than gods, they are spiritual beings, without body, without weight, without desires. Nay, even this is not sufficient, and as the Brahmans had imagined a higher Brahman, without form and without suffering (*tato yad uttarataram tad arûpam anâmamayam*, *Svet. Up. 3, 10*), the Buddhists too, in their ideal dreams, imagined four other worlds towering high above the worlds of Brahman, which they call *Arûpa*, the worlds of the Formless. All these worlds are open to man, after he has divested himself of all that is human, and numberless beings are constantly ascending and descending in the circle of time, according to the works they have performed, and according to the truths they have discovered. But in all these worlds the law of change prevails, in none is there exemption from birth, age, and death. The world of the gods will perish like that of men, the world of Brahman will vanish like that of the gods, nay, even the world of the Formless will not last for ever, but the Buddha, the enlightened and truly free, stands higher, and will not be affected or disturbed by the collapse of the universe, *Si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae*.

Here, however, we meet with a vein of irony, which one would hardly have expected in Buddha. Gods and devils he has located, to all mythological and philosophical acquisitions of the past he had done justice as far as possible. Even fabulous beings, such as *Nâgas*, *Gandharvas*, and *Garudâs*, had escaped the process of dissolution and sublimization which was to reach them later at the hands of comparative mytho-

logists. There is only one idea, the idea of a personal Creator, in regard to which Buddha seems merciless. It is not only denied, but even its origin, like that of an ancient myth, is carefully explained by him with the minutest detail. The Rev. D. J. Gogerly, in his numerous articles published in the local journals of Ceylon, has collected and translated the most important passages from the Buddhist canon bearing on this subject. The Rev. Spence Hardy,¹ too, another distinguished missionary in Ceylon, has several times touched on this point—a point, no doubt, of great practical importance to Christian missionaries. They dwell on such passages as when Buddha said to Upāsaka, an ascetic, who inquired who was his teacher and whose doctrine he embraced, “I have no teacher; there is no one who resembles me. In the world of the gods I have no equal. I am the most noble in the world, being the irrefutable teacher, the sole, all-perfect Buddha.” In the *Pârâṅka* section of the *Vinaya Pîṭaka*, a conversation is recorded between Buddha and a Brahman, who accused him of not honouring aged Brahmans, of not rising in their presence, and of not inviting them to be seated. Buddha replied, “Brahman, I do not see any one in the heavenly worlds nor in that of Mâra, nor among the inhabitants of the Brahma worlds, nor among gods or men, whom it would be proper for me to honour, or in whose presence I ought to rise up, or whom I ought to request to be seated. Should the Tathâgata (Buddha) thus act towards any one, that person’s head would fall off.”

Such doctrines, as Gogerly points out, are irrecon-

¹ ‘Legends and Theories of the Buddhists,’ 1866, p. 171.

cilable with the doctrine of a universal Creator, who must necessarily be superior to all the beings formed and supported by him. But the most decisive passage on the subject is one taken from the *Brahma-gâla-sûtra*,¹ the first in the *Dîrgha nikâya*, which is itself the first work of the *Sûtra Pitaka*. It was translated by Gogerly, whose translation I follow, as the text has not yet been published. In the *Brahma-gâla-sûtra*, Buddha discourses respecting the sixty-two different sects, among whom four held the doctrine both of the pre-existence of the soul, and of its eternal duration through countless transmigrations. Others believed that some souls have always existed, whilst others have had a commencement of existence. Among these one sect is described as believing in the existence of a Creator, and it is here that Buddha brings together his arguments against the correctness of this opinion. "There is a time," he says, "O Bhikshus, when, after a very long period, this world is destroyed. On the destruction of the world very many beings obtained existence in the *Âbhâsvara*² *Brâhmaloka*, which is

¹ See J. D. Alwis's 'Pali Grammar' p. 88, note. Turnour's 'Mahavamsa' Appendix iii. p. lxxv.

² The *Âbhâsvara* gods *abhâsavrâ* in Pali are mentioned already in the *Dhammapada* v. 200 but none of the minute details describing the six worlds of the gods and the sixteen worlds of Brahman and the four of Arupa are to be found there. The universe is represented (v. 126) as consisting of hell (*niraya*) earth, heaven (*svarga*) and Nirvana. In v. 44 we find the world of Yama the earth and the world of the gods, in v. 104 we read of gods Gandharvas Mara and Brahman. The ordinary expression too which occurs in almost all languages viz. in this world and in the next is not avoided by the author of the *Dhammapada*. Thus we read in v. 168 *amim loke paramhila*, 'in this world and

the sixth in the series, and in which the term of life never exceeds eight kalpas. They are there spiritual beings (having purified bodies, uncontaminated with evil passions, or with any corporeal defilement), they in the next (cf vv 242-410) we find in v 20 *idha va huraṃ vā* here or there in v 15-18 we find *idha* and *peṭṭha* here and yonder *peṭṭha* = *e* *pretya* meaning literally after having died cf vv 131-306. We also find *idheva* here v 402 and *idha lokasmin* here in the world (v 247) or simply *loke* in this world (v 89) and *parattha* for *paratra* yonder or in the other world.

A very characteristic expression too is that of v 176 where as one of the greatest crimes is mentioned the scoffing at another world.

The following is a sketch of the universe and its numerous worlds according to the later systems of the Buddhists. There are differences however in different schools.

1 The infernal regions

- (1) *Nyaya* hell
- (2) The abode of animals
- (3) The abode of Pretas ghosts
- (4) The abode of Asuras demons

2 The earth

- (1) Abode of men

3 The worlds of the gods

- (1) *Katur mahārāga* (duration 9 000 000 years)
- (2) *Trayastrimsa* (duration 36 000 000 years)
- (3) *Yāma* (duration 144 000 000 years)
- (4) *Tusṭita* (duration 576 000 000 years)
- (5) *Nirmāṇa ratī* (duration 2 304 000 000 years)
- (6) *Paranirmita-vaśavartin* (duration 9 216 000 000 years)

4 The worlds of Brahman

(a) First Dhyaṇa

- (1) *Brahma paribhaddha* (duration $\frac{1}{4}$ kalpa)
- (2) *Brahma purohita* (duration $\frac{1}{2}$ kalpa)
- (3) *Mahabrahman* (duration one kalpa)

(b) Second Dhyaṇa

- (1) *Parittābha* (duration two kalpas)
- (5) *Apramāṇabla* (duration four kalpas)

have intellectual pleasures, are self resplendent, traverse the atmosphere without impediment, and remain for a long time established in happiness. After a very long period this mundane system is reproduced, and the world named Brahma vimana (the third of the Brahmaloкас) comes into existence, but uninhabited."

"At that time a being, in consequence either of the period of residence in Ābhāsvara being expired, or in consequence of some deficiency of merit preventing him from living there the full period, ceased to exist in Abhasvara, and was reproduced in the uninhabited

(6) Abhāsvara (duration eight kalpas)

(c) Third Dhyana

(7) Paritasubha (duration sixteen kalpas)

(8) Apramāṇasubhā (duration thirty two kalpas)

(9) Subhakaritana (duration sixty four kalpas)

(d) Fourth Dhyana

(Anabhaka of Northern Buddhism)

(Punya prasava of Northern Buddhism)

(10) Vrihat phala (500 kalpas)

(11) Arangisattvas or Asangisattvas of Nepal Asanyasatya of Ceylon (500 kalpas)

(e) Fifth Dhyana

(12) Arriha (1000 kalpas)

(13) Atapa (2000 kalpas)

(14) Sudrasa (4000 kalpas)

(15) Sudarsana (8000 kalpas)

(Sumukha of Nepal)

(16) Akaniṣṭha (16 000 kalpas)

5 The world of Arupa

(1) Ākāśanantyaṭatanam (70 000 kalpas)

(2) Vīṇānantaṭatanam (40 000 kalpas)

(3) Akāśanāntyaṭatanam (60 000 kalpas)

(4) Naivasaṅghanāntyaṭatanam (30 000 kalpas)

Cf Burnouf Introduction p 599 seq Lotus p 811 seq Hariv. Manual p 20 seq Bhand t p 119

him are short lived, of inferior beauty and of little power ” ”

“It then happens, that one of those beings ceasing to exist there, is born in this world, and afterwards retires from society and becomes a recluse. He subjects his passions, is persevering in the practice of virtue, and by profound meditation he recollects his immediately previous state of existence, but none prior to that, he therefore says, that illustrious Brahma is the Great Brahma, the Supreme, the Invincible, the Omniscient, the Ruler, the Lord, the Maker, the Creator of all. He is the Chief, the Disposer of all things, the Controller of all, the Universal Father. That Brahma by whom we were created is ever enduring, immutable, eternal, unchangeable, continuing for ever the same. But we, who have been created by this illustrious Brahma, are mutable, short lived, and mortal ”

There is, it seems to me, an unmistakable note of irony in this argumentation against the belief in a personal Creator, and to any one acquainted with the language of the Upanishads, the pointed allusions to expressions occurring in those philosophical and religious treatises of the Brahmans are not to be mistaken. If then it is true, as Gogerly remarks, that many who call themselves Buddhists acknowledge the existence of a Creator, the question naturally arises, whether the point blank atheism of the Brahma *gala* was the doctrine of the founder of Buddhism or not ?

This is, in fact, but part of the problem so often started, whether it is possible to distinguish between Buddhism and the personal teaching of Buddha. We possess the Buddhist canon, and whatever is found in

that canon, we have a right to consider as the orthodox Buddhist doctrine. But as there has been no lack of efforts in Christian theology to distinguish between the doctrine of the founder of our religion and that of the writers of the Gospels, to go beyond the canon of the New Testament, and to make the *λόγια* of the Master the only solid rule of our faith, so the same want was felt at a very early period among the followers of Buddha. King Asoka, the Indian Constantine, had to remind the assembled priests at the great council which had to settle the Buddhist canon, that '*what had been said by Buddha, that alone was well said*'¹. Works attributed to Buddha, but declared to be apocryphal, or even heterodox, existed already at that time (246 B.C.). Thus we are by no means without authority for distinguishing between Buddhism and the teaching of Buddha, the only question is, whether in our time such a separation is still practicable?

them, even with the conviction that we cannot arrive at results of apodictic certainty? If it happens that on certain points we find in different parts of the canon, not only doctrines differing from each other, but plainly contradictory to each other, it follows, surely, that one only of these can have belonged to Buddha personally. In such a case, therefore, I believe we have a right to choose, and I believe we shall be justified in accepting that view as the original one, the one peculiar to Buddha himself, which harmonizes *least* with the later system of orthodox Buddhism.

As regards the denial of a Creator, or atheism in the ordinary acceptation of the word, I do not think that any one passage from the books of the canon known to us, can be quoted which contravenes it, or which in any way presupposes the belief in a personal God or Creator. All that might be urged are the words said to have been spoken by Buddha at the time when he became the Enlightened, the Buddha. They are as follows —“Without ceasing shall I run through a course of many births, looking for the maker of this tabernacle,—and painful is birth again and again. But now, maker of the tabernacle, thou hast been seen, thou shalt not make up this tabernacle again. All thy rafters are broken, thy ridge-pole is sundered, the mind, being sundered, has attained to the extinction of all desires.”

Here in the maker of the tabernacle, *i.e.* the body, one might be tempted to see a creator. But he who is acquainted with the general run of thought in Buddhism, soon finds that this architect of the house is only a poetical expression, and that whatever mean-

ing may underlie it, it evidently signifies a force subordinate to the Buddha, the Enlightened

But whilst we have no ground for exonerating the Buddha personally from the accusation of atheism, the matter stands very differently as regards the charge of nihilism. The Buddhist nihilism has always been much more incomprehensible than mere atheism. A kind of religion is still conceivable, when there is something firm somewhere, when a something, eternal and self dependent, is recognized, if not *without* and *above* man, at least *within* him. But if, as Buddhism teaches, the soul after having passed through all the phases of existence, all the worlds of the gods and of the higher spirits, attains finally Nirvana as its highest aim and last reward, *i. e.* becomes utterly extinct, then religion is not any more what it is meant to be—a bridge from the finite to the infinite, but a trap-bridge hurling man into the abyss at the very moment when he thought he had arrived at the stronghold of the Eternal. According to the metaphysical doctrine of Buddhism, the soul cannot dissolve itself in a higher being, or be absorbed in the absolute substance, as was taught by the Brahmans, and other mystics of ancient and modern times, for Buddhism knew not the Divine, the Eternal, the Absolute, and the soul even as the I, or as the mere Self, the Âtman, as called by the Brahmans, was represented in the orthodox metaphysics of Buddhism as transient, as futile, as a mere phantom.

No person who reads with attention the metaphysical speculations on the Nirvana contained in the third part of the Buddhist canon, can arrive at any other conviction than that expressed by Burnouf, viz

that Nirvana, the highest aim, the *summum bonum* of Buddhism, is the absolute nothing

Burnouf adds, however, that this doctrine appears in its crude form in the third part only of the canon, the so called Abhidharma, but not in the first and second parts, in the Sutras, the sermons, and the Vinaya, the ethics, which together bear the name of Dharma, or Law. He next points out that, according to some ancient authorities, this entire part of the canon was designated as not "pronounced by Buddha"¹. These are, at once, two important limitations. I add a third, and maintain that sayings of Buddha occur in the Dhammapada, which are in open contradiction to this metaphysical nihilism.

Now, first, as regards the soul, or the self, the existence of which, according to the orthodox metaphysics, is purely phenomenal,² a sentence attributed to the Buddha (Dhammapada, v 160) says, "Self is the Lord of Self, who else could be the Lord?" And again (v 323), "*A man who controls himself enters the untrodden land through his own self controlled self*". But this untrodden land is the Nirvana.

Nirvana certainly means extinction, whatever its later arbitrary interpretations³ may have been, and

¹ Max Muller's Chips 2nd ed. vol. i p. 285 note

² See Wassiljew Der Buddhismus p. 296 (269) and Bigandet's Life of Gaudama p. 479. "The things that I see and know are not myself nor from myself nor to myself. What seems to be myself is in reality neither myself nor belongs to myself."

³ See Bastian De Volker des ostheben Asien vol. iii p. 351. The learned abbot who explained the meaning of Nirvana to Dr. Bastian was well versed in the old grammatical terminology. He distinguishes the causal meaning called *hetumat* of the verb *va* to cause to blow out from the intransitive meaning

seems therefore to imply, even etymologically, a real blowing out or passing away. But Nirvana occurs also in the Brahmanic writings as synonymous with Moksha,¹ Nirvṛtti,¹ and other words, all designating the highest stage of spiritual liberty and bliss, but not annihilation. Nirvāna may mean the extinction of many things—of selfishness, desire, and sin, without going so far as the extinction of subjective consciousness. Further, if we consider that Buddha himself, after he had already seen Nirvana, still remains on earth until his body falls a prey to death, that in the legends Buddha appears to his disciples even after his death, it seems to me that all these circumstances are hardly reconcilable with the orthodox metaphysical doctrine of Nirvana.

But I go even further and maintain that, if we look in the Dhammapada at every passage where Nirvāna is mentioned, there is not one which would require that its meaning should be annihilation, while most, if not all, would become perfectly unintelligible if we assigned to the word Nirvana the meaning which it has in the Abhidharma or the metaphysical portions of the canon.

idea was connected with it in the mind of Buddha is clearly proved by a passage immediately following, v 23 "The wise people, meditative, steady, always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nirvana, the highest happiness" In the last verse, too, of the same chapter we read, "A Bhikshu who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, will not go to destruction,—he is near to Nirvana" If the goal at which the followers of Buddha have to aim had been in the mind of Buddha perfect annihilation, 'amata' i.e. immortality, would have been the very last word he could have chosen as its name

In several passages of the Dhammapada Nirvana occurs in the purely ethical sense of rest, quietness, absence of passion, e.g., v 134, 'If, like a trumpet trampled underfoot, thou utter not then thou hast reached Nirvana, anger is not known in thee' In v 184 long suffering (titiksha) is called the highest Nirvana While in v 202 we read that there is no happiness like rest (santi) or quietness we read in the next verse that the highest happiness is Nirvana In v 285, too, 'santi' seems to be synonymous with Nirvana for the way that leads to 'santi' or peace, leads also to Nirvana, as shown by Buddha In v 369 it is said "When thou hast cut off passion and hatred, thou wilt go to Nirvana, and in v 225 the same thought is expressed only that instead of Nirvana we have the expression of unchangeable place—"The sages who injure nobody and who always control their body, they will go to the unchangeable place, where, if they have gone they will suffer no more"

In other passages Nirvana is described as the result of right knowledge Thus we read, v 203, "Hunger

is the worst of diseases, the body the greatest of pains, if one knows this truly, that is *Nirvāṇa*, the highest happiness ”

A similar thought seems contained in v 374 “ As soon as a man has perceived the origin and destruction of the elements of the body (*kāṇdhā*), he finds happiness and joy, which belong to those who know the immortal (*Nirvāṇa*), or which is the immortality of those who know it, viz the transitory character of the body ” In v 372 it is said that he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto *Nirvāṇa*

they occur, must mean something definite; they cannot mean heaven or the world of the gods, for reasons stated above, and if they do not mean Nirvâna, they would have no meaning at all. There may be some doubt whether 'pâra,' the shore, and particularly the other shore, stands always for Nirvâna, and whether those who are said to have reached the other shore, are to be supposed to have entered Nirvâna. It may possibly not have that meaning in verses 384 and 385, but it can hardly have another in places such as vv 85, 86, 347, 348, 355, 414. There is less doubt, however, that other words are used distinctly as synonyms of Nirvâna. Such words are, the quiet place (*sântam padam*, v 368, 381), the changeless place (*alyutam sthânam*, v 225, compared with v 226); the immortal place (*amatam padam*, v. 114), also simply that which is immortal, v 374. In v 411 the expression occurs that the wise dives into the immortal.

Though, according to Buddha, everything that has been made, everything that was put together, resolves itself again into its component parts and passes away, (v 277, *sarve saṃskârâ amityâḥ*), he speaks nevertheless of that which is not made, i.e. the uncreated and eternal, and uses it, as it would seem, synonymously with Nirvâna (v 97). Nay, he says (v 383), "When you have understood the destruction of all that was made, you will understand that which was not made." This surely shows that even for Buddha a something existed which is not made, and which, therefore, is imperishable and eternal.

On considering such sayings, to which many more might be added, one recognizes in them a conception

of Nirvana, altogether irreconcilable with the nihilism of the third part of the Buddhist canon. It is not a question of more or less, but of *aut*—*aut*. Nirvana cannot, in the mind of one and the same person, mean black and white, nothing and something. If these sayings, as recorded in the Dhammapada, have maintained themselves, in spite of their being in open contradiction to orthodox metaphysics, the only explanation, in my opinion is, that they were too firmly fixed in the tradition which went back to Buddha and his disciples. What Bishop Bigandet and others represent as the popular view of Nirvâna, in contradistinction to that of the Buddhist divines, was, in my opinion, the conception of Buddha and his disciples. It represented the entrance of the soul into rest, a subduing of all wishes and desires, indifference to joy and pain, to good and evil, an absorption of the soul in itself, and a freedom from the circle of existences from birth to death, and from death to a new birth. This is still the meaning which educated people attach to it, whilst to the minds of the larger masses¹ Nirvâna suggests rather the idea of a Mohammedan paradise or of blissful Elysian fields.

Only in the hands of the philosophers, to whom Buddhism owes its metaphysics, the Nirvâna, through constant negations carried to an indefinite degree, through the excluding and abstracting of all that is not Nirvâna, at last became an empty Nothing, a philosophical myth. There is no lack of such philosophical myths either in the east or in the west. What has been fabled by philosophers of a Nothing, and of the

terrors of a Nothing, is as much a myth as the myth of Eos and Tithonus. There is no more a Nothing than there is an Eos or a Chaos. All these are sickly, dying, or dead words, which, like shadows and ghosts, continue to haunt language, and succeed in deceiving for a while even the healthiest intellect.

Even modern philosophy is not afraid to say that there is a Nothing. We find passages in the German mystics, such as Eckhart and Tauler, where the abyss of the Nothing is spoken of quite in a Buddhist style. If Buddha had said, like St. Paul, "that what no eye hath seen, nor ear heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man," was prepared in the Nirvâna for those who had advanced to the highest degree of spiritual perfection, such expressions would have been quite sufficient to serve as a proof to the philosophers by profession that this Nirvâna, which could not become an object of perception by the senses, nor of conception by the categories of the understanding,—the *anakkhata*, the ineffable, as Buddha calls it (v 218)—could be nothing more nor less than the Nothing. Could we dare with Hegel to distinguish between a Nothing (*Nichts*) and a Not (*Nicht*), we might say that the Nirvâna had, through a false dialectical process, been driven from a relative Nothing to an absolute Not. This was the work of the theologians and of the orthodox philosophers. But a religion has never been founded by such teaching, and a man like Buddha, who knew mankind, must have known that he could not, with such weapons, overturn the tyranny of the Brahmans. Either we must bring ourselves to believe that Buddha taught his disciples two diametrically opposed doctrines on Nirvâna, say an exoteric and

esoteric one, or we must allow *that* view of Nirvâna to have been the original view of the founder of this marvellous religion, which we find recorded in the verses of the Dhammapada, and which corresponds best with the simple, clear, and practical character of Buddha.

ON THE TITLE OF THE DHAMMAPADA.

I have still to say a few words on the title of the Dhammapada. This title was first rendered by Gogerly, 'The Footsteps of Religion;' by Spence Hardy, 'The Paths of Religion,' and this, I believe, is in the main a correct rendering 'Dharma,' or, in Pâli, 'dhamma,' has many meanings. Under one aspect, it means religion, in so far, namely, as religion is the law that is to be accepted and observed. Under another aspect 'dharma' is virtue, in so far, namely, as virtue is the realization of that law. Thus 'dharma' can be rendered by law, by religion, more particularly Buddha's religion, or by virtue.

'Pada,' again, may be rendered by footsteps, but its more natural rendering is path. Thus we read in verse 21, 'appamâdo amatapadam,' reflection is the path of immortality, *i.e.* the path that leads to immortality. Again, 'pamâdo maḥkuno padam,' thoughtless is the path of death, *i.e.* the path that leads to death. The commentator explains 'padam' here by 'amatasya adhigamupâya,' the means of obtaining immortality, *i.e.* Nirvâna, or simply by 'upâyo' and 'magga,' the way.' In the same manner 'dhammapadam' would

mean 'the path of virtue,' i. e. the path that leads to virtue, a very appropriate title for a collection of moral precepts. In this sense 'dhammapadam' is used in verses 44 and 45, as I have explained in my notes to these verses.

Gogerly, though not to be trusted in all his translations, may generally be taken as a faithful representative of the tradition of the Buddhists in Ceylon, and we may therefore take it for granted that the priests of that island take Dhammapada to mean, as Gogerly translates it, the vestiges of religion, or, from a different point of view, the path of virtue.

It is well known, however, that the learned editor of the Dhammapada, Dr Fausboll, proposed a different rendering. On the strength of verses 44 and 102, he translated 'dhammapada' by 'collection of verses on religion.' But though 'pada' may mean a verse, I doubt whether 'pada' in the singular could ever mean a collection of verses. In verse 44 'padam' cannot mean a collection of verses, for reasons I have explained in my notes, and in verse 102 we have, it seems to me, the best proof that, in Buddhist phraseology, 'dhammapada' is not to be taken in a collective sense, but means a law verse, a wise saw. For there we read, "Though a man recite a hundred Gathâs made up of senseless words, one 'dhammapada,' i. e. one single word or line of the law, is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet." If the Buddhist wish to speak of many law verses, they use the plural, dhammapadani.¹ Thus Buddhaghosha says,² "Be it known that the Gatha

¹ Pada by itself forms the plural padâ as in v. 243 *katuro pada.*

² D. Alwis. *Pali Grammar* p. 61.

consists of the Dhammapadâni, Theragâthâ, Therīgâthâ, and those unmixed (detached) Gâthâ not comprehended in any of the above-named Suttantâ."

Unless, therefore, it can be proved that in Pâli, 'padam' in the singular can be used in a collective sense, so as to mean a collection of words or sayings, and this has never been done, it seems to me that we must retain the translation of Gogerly, 'Footsteps of Religion,' though we may with advantage make it more intelligible in English by rendering it "The Path of Virtue." The idea of representing life, and particularly the life of the faithful, as a path of duty or virtue leading to deliverance (in Sanskrit, dharma-patha) is very familiar to the Buddhists. The four great truths¹ of their religion consist in the recognition, 1, that there is suffering; 2, that there is a cause of that suffering; 3, that such cause can be removed; 4, that there is a way of deliverance, *i.e.* the doctrine of Buddha. This way, this mârگا, is then fully described as consisting of eight stations,² and leading in the end to Nirvâna.³ The faithful advances on that road, 'padât padam,' step by step, and it is therefore called *paṭipadâ*, lit. the step by step.⁴

¹ Spence Hardy, 'Manual,' p. 196

² *Ibid*

³ Burnouf, 'Lotus,' p. 520 "Ajoutons, pour terminer ce que nous trouvons à dire sur le mot *magga*, quelque commentaire qu'on en donne d'ailleurs, que suivant une définition rapportée par Turnour, le *magga* renferme une sous-division que l'on nomme *paṭipadâ*, en sanscrit *pratipad*. Le *magga*, dit Turnour, est la voie qui conduit au Nibbâna, le *paṭipadâ*, littéralement 'la marche pas à pas, ou le degré,' est la vie de rectitude qu'on doit suivre, quand on marche dans la voie de *magga*."

⁴ See Spence Hardy, 'Manual,' p. 196 Should not 'Aṭṭavajjhā-

THE TITLE OF THE DHAMMAPADA.

The only way in which Dhammapadam could possibly be defended in the sense of 'Collection of verses of the Law,' would be if we took it for an aggregate compound. But such aggregate compounds, in Sanskrit at least, are possibly only with numerals, as, for instance, Tri bhuvanam, the three worlds, katuryugam, the four ages¹. It might, therefore, be possible to form in Pali also such compounds as dasapadam, a collection of ten padas, a work consisting of ten padas, a 'decimerone', but it would in no way follow that we could attempt such a compound as Dhammapadam, in the sense of collection of law-verses.

I find that Dr Koppen has been too cautious to adopt Dr Fausboll's rendering, while Professor Weber, of Berlin, not only adopts that rendering without any misgivings, but in his usual way blames me for my backwardness².

throughout in following the rule which, I think, ought to be followed. Most of the technical terms employed by Buddhist writers come from Sanskrit, and in the eyes of the philologist the various forms which they have assumed in Pali, in Burmese, in Tibetan, in Chinese, in Mongolian, are only so many corruptions of the same original form. Everything, therefore, would seem to be in favour of retaining the Sanskrit forms throughout, and of writing, for instance, Nirvāṇa instead of the Pali Nibbana, the Burmese Niban or Nepbhan, the Siamese Niruphan, the Chinese Nipān. The only hope, in fact, that writers on Buddhism will ever arrive at a uniform and generally intelligible phraseology seems to lie in their agreeing to use throughout the Sanskrit terms in their original form, instead of the various local disguises and disfigurements which they present in Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, Tibet, China, and Mongolia. But against this view another consideration is sure to be urged, viz that many Buddhist words have assumed such a strongly marked local or national character in the different countries and in the different languages in which the religion of Buddha has found a new home, that to translate them back into Sanskrit would seem as affected, nay prove in certain cases as misleading, as if, in speaking of *priests* and *kings*, we were to speak of *presbyters* and *cynings*. Between the two alternatives of using the original Sanskrit forms or adopting their various local varieties, it is sometimes difficult to choose, and the rule by which I have been mainly guided has been to use the Sanskrit forms as much as possible, in fact, everywhere except where it seemed affected to do so. I have therefore written Buddhaghosha instead

of the Pali Buddhaghosa, because the name of that famous theologian, "the Voice of Buddha," seemed to lose its significance if turned into Buddhaghosa. But I am well aware what may be said on the other side. The name of Buddhaghosa, "Voice of Buddha," was given him after he had been converted from Brahmanism to Buddhism, and it was given to him by people to whom the Pali word *ghosa* conveyed the same meaning as *ghosha* does to us. On the other hand, I have retained the Pali *Dhammapada* instead of *Dharmapada*, simply because, as the title of a Pali book, it has become so familiar that to speak of it as *Dharmapada* seemed like speaking of another work. We are accustomed to speak of Samanas instead of *Sramanas*, for even in the days of Alexander's conquest, the Sanskrit word *Sramana* had assumed the prakritized or vulgar form which we find in Pali, and which alone could have been rendered by the later Greek writers (first by Alexander Polyhistor, 80-60, B.C.) by *σαμωναί*.¹ As a Buddhist term, the Pali form *Samana* has so entirely supplanted that of *Sramana* that, even in the *Dhammapada* (v. 388) we find an etymology of *Samana* as derived from 'sam,' to be quiet, and not from 'sram,' to toil. But though one might bring oneself to speak of Samanas, who would like to introduce *Bahmana* instead of *Brahmana*? And yet this word, too, had so entirely been replaced by *bahmana*, that in the *Dhammapada*, it is derived from a root

¹ See Lassen *Indische Alterthumskunde* vol. i. p. 700 note. That Lassen is right in taking the *Σαμωναί* mentioned by Megasthenes for Brahmanic and not for Buddhist ascetics might be proved also by their dress. Dresses made of the bark of trees are not Buddhistic. On page lxxv note read Alexander Polyhistor instead of Bardesanes.

‘vah,’ to remove, to separate, to cleanse¹ My own conviction is that it would be best if writers on Buddhist literature and religion were to adopt Sanskrit throughout as the *lingua franca* For an accurate understanding of the original meaning of most of the technical terms of Buddhism a knowledge of their Sanskrit form is indispensable, and nothing is lost, while much would be gained, if even in the treating of Southern Buddhism, we were to speak of the town of Sravasti instead of Sāvattṭhi in Pali, Sevet in Singhalese, of Tripitaka, ‘the three baskets,’ instead of Pitakattaya in Pali Tunpitaka in Singhalese, of Arthakatha, ‘commentary,’ instead of Atthakatha in Pali, Atuwaya in Singhalese, and therefore also of Dharmapada, ‘the path of virtue,’ instead of Dhammapada

MAX MULLER

DUSTERNBROOK near KIEL in the summer of 1869

¹ See Dhammapada v 388 Bast an Volker des ostl el en As en vol 1 p 412 E buddh st scher Monch erklarte m r dass die Brahmanen ihren Namen fuhrt en als Leute d e ihre Sunden abgespult hatten See also Lal ta-vistara p 551 l ne 1 p 553 l ne 7

CHAPTER I

THE TWIN-VERSES

1.

All that we are is the result of what we have thought it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him, as the wheel follows the foot of him who draws the carriage.

(1) 'Dharma,' though clear in its meaning, is difficult to translate It has different meanings in different systems of philosophy, and its peculiar application in the phraseology of Buddhism has been fully elucidated by Burnouf, 'Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme,' p 41 *seq* He writes "Je traduis ordinairement ce terme par *condition*, d'autres fois par *lois*, mais aucune de ces traductions n'est parfaitement complète, il faut entendre par 'dharma' ce qui fait qu'une chose est ce qu'elle est, ce qui constitue sa nature propre, comme l'a bien montré Lassen, à l'occasion de la célèbre formule, 'Ye dharmâ hetuprabhavâ' Etymologically the Latin *for ma* expresses the same general idea which was expressed by 'dhar ma' See also Burnouf, 'Lotus de la bonne Loi,' p 524 Fausbøll translates "Naturæ a mente principium ducunt," which shows that he understood 'dharma' in the Buddhist sense Gogerly and D'Alwis translate Mind precedes action, which, if not wrong, is at all events wrongly expressed, while Professor Weber's rendering, "Die Pflichten aus dem Herz folgern," is quite inadmissible

2.

All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him, like a shadow that never leaves him.

3.

"He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,"—hatred in those who harbour such thoughts will never cease.

4.

"He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,"—hatred in those who do not harbour thoughts will cease

5

For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time: hatred ceases by love, this is an old rule.

6

And some do not know that we must all come to an end here;—but others know it, and hence their quarrels cease.

(3) On 'akkoḷḷhi,' see *Kakkāyana*, vi 4, 17 D'Alwis, 'Pāli Grammar,' p 38, note "When akkoḷḷhi means 'abused,' it is derived from 'kunsa,' not from 'kudha'"

(6) It is necessary to render this verse freely, because literally translated it would be unintelligible 'Pare' is explained by fools, but it has that meaning by implication only There is an opposition between 'pare ka' and 'ye ka,' which I have rendered by 'some' and 'others' Yamāse, a 1 pers plur imp âtm, but really a Let in Pāli (See Fausbøll, 'Five Gāthas,' p 38)

7.

He who lives looking for pleasures only, his senses 'uncontrolled, immoderate in his enjoyments, idle, and weak, Māra (the tempter) will certainly overcome him, as the wind throws down a weak tree.

(7) 'Māra' must be taken in the Buddhist sense of tempter, or evil spirit. See Burnouf, 'Introduction,' p 76 "Māra est le démon de l'amour, du péché et de la mort, c'est le tentateur et l'ennemi de Buddha" As to the definite meaning of 'vīrya,' see Burnouf, 'Lotus,' p 548

'Kusīta,' idle is evidently the Pālī representative of the Sanskrit 'kusīda.' In Sanskrit 'kusīda,' slothful, is supposed to be derived from 'sad,' to sit, and even in its other sense, viz a loan, it may have been intended originally for a pawn, or something that lies inert. In the Buddhistical Sanskrit, 'kusīda' is the exact counterpart of the Pālī 'kusīta,' see Burnouf, 'Lotus,' p 548. But supposing 'kusīda' to be derived from 'sad,' the *d* would be organic, and its phonetic change to *t* in Pālī, against all rules I do not know of any instance where an original Sanskrit *d*, between two vowels, is changed to *t* in Pālī. The Pālī 'dandham' (Dhammap v 116) has been identified with 'tandram, lazy, but here the etymology is doubtful, and 'dandra' may really be a more correct dialectic variety, i.e. an intensive form of a root 'dram' (dru) or 'drā'. Anyhow the change here affects an initial, not a medial *d*, and it is supposed to be a change of Sanskrit *t* to Pālī *d*, not *vice versa*. Professor Weber supposed 'pīthiyatī' in v 173, to stand for Sk 'pīthiyate,' which is impossible. (See Kakṣayana's 'Grammar,' iv 21.) Dr Fausbøll had identified it rightly with Sk 'apīthīyati'. Comparisons such as Pālī 'alāpu' (v 149) with Sk 'alābu,' and Pālī 'pabbaga' (v 315) with Sk 'balbaga,' prove nothing whatever as to a possible change of Sk *d* to Pālī *t*, for they refer to words the organic form of which is doubtful, and to dialectic variety instead of phonetic decay.

A much better instance was pointed out to me by Mr R C Childers, viz the Pālī 'pātu,' Sk 'prāduḥ,' clearly, openly. Here, however, the question arises whether 'pātu' may not be due to dialectic variety, instead of phonetic decay. If 'pātu' is connected

He who lives without looking for pleasures, his senses well controlled in his enjoyments moderate, faithful and strong, Mara will certainly not overcome

with *pratar* before early *pradus* would be a peculiar Sanskrit corruption due to a mistaken recollection of *dus* while the Pali *patu* would have preserved the original *t*

Anyhow we require far stronger evidence before we can admit a medial *t* in Pali as a phonetic corruption of a medial *d* in Sanskrit. We might as well treat the *O H G t* as a phonetic corruption of Gothic *d*. The only way to account for the Pali form *kusita* instead of *kusida* is by admitting the influence of popular etymology. Pali has in many cases lost its etymological consciousness. It derives *samana* from a root *sam b(r)ahmana* from *bah* see v 388. Now *asita* in Pali means cold apathetic but in a good sense *ku-sita* may have been formed in Pali to express apathetic in a bad sense.

Further we must bear in mind that the Sanskrit etymology of *kusida* from *sad* though plausible is by no means certain. If on the one hand *kusida* might have been misinterpreted in Pali and changed to *kusita* it is equally possible that *kusita* supposing this to have been the original form was misinterpreted in Sanskrit and changed there to *kusida*. *Sai* is mentioned as a Sk root in the sense of *tabescere* from it *kusita* might possibly be derived in the sense of idle. *Sita* in Sanskrit is what is sown *sitā* the furrow from it *kusta* might mean a bad labourer. These are merely conjectures but it is certainly remarkable that there is an old Vedic proper name *Kushita ka* the founder of the *Kaushitakas* whose *Brahmana* the *Kaushitaki brahmana* belongs to the Rg Veda. An extract from it was translated in my *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* p 407.

Lastly it should be mentioned that while *ku-sita* is the Pali counterpart of *ku-sida* the abstract name in Pali is *kosagga* Sanskrit *kausidya* and not *kosaika* as it would have been if derived from *kusita*.

him, any more than the wind throws down a rocky mountain.

9.

He who wishes to put on the sacred orange-coloured dress without having cleansed himself from sin, who disregards also temperance and truth, is unworthy of the orange-coloured dress.

10.

But he who has cleansed himself from sin, is well grounded in all virtues, and regards also temperance and truth, is indeed worthy of the orange-coloured dress

(9) The saffron dress, of a reddish yellow or orange colour, the *Kasāva* or *Kashāya*, is the distinctive garment of the Buddhist priests. The play on the words '*anikkasāvo kaśavam*,' or in Sanskrit, '*anishkashavaḥ kāshāyam*,' cannot be rendered in English. '*Kashāya*' means, impurity, '*nish kashāva*,' free from impurity, '*a nish kashāya*,' not free from impurity, while '*kāshāva*' is the name of the orange-coloured or yellowish Buddhist garment. The pun is evidently a favourite one, for, as Fausboll shows, it occurs also in the *Mahabharata*, xii 569.

"*Anishkashāve kaśhāyam ihārtham iti viddhi tam,*

Dharmadhivṛgaḍām mundanām vṛttivartham iti me matāḥ "

Know that this orange-coloured garment on a man who is not free from impurity, serves only for the purpose of cupidity, my opinion is, that it is meant to supply the means of living to those men with shaven heads, who carry their virtue like a flag.

(I read '*vṛttivartham*,' according to the Bombay edition, instead of '*kṛtārtham*,' the reading of the Calcutta edition.)

With regard to '*śīla*,' virtue, see Burnouf '*Lotus*,' p. 547.

On the exact colour of the dress, see Bishop Bigandet, '*The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese*,' Rangoon, 1866, p. 501.

11

They who imagine truth in untruth, and see untruth in truth, never arrive at truth, but follow vain desires

12

They who know truth in truth, and untruth in untruth, arrive at truth, and follow true desires

13

As rain breaks through an ill thatched house, passion will break through an unreflecting mind

14

As rain does not break through a well thatched house, passion will not break through a well reflecting mind

15

The evil doer mourns in this world, and he mourns in the next, he mourns in both. He mourns, he suffers when he sees the evil of his own work

16

The virtuous man delights in this world, and he delights in the next, he delights in both. He delights, he rejoices, when he sees the purity of his own work.

17

The evildoer suffers in this world, and he suffers in the next, he suffers in both. He suffers when he thinks of the evil he has done, he suffers more when going on the evil path.

18

The virtuous man is happy in this world, and he is happy in the next, he is happy in both. He is happy when he thinks of the good he has done, he is still more happy when going on the good path.

19

The thoughtless man, even if he can recite a large portion (of the law), but is not a doer of it, has no share in the priesthood, but is like a cowherd counting the cows of others.

(16) Like 'kṛishṭa' in the preceding verse, 'visuddhi' in the present has a technical meaning. One of Buddhaghosha's most famous works is called 'Visuddhi magga' (See Burnouf, 'Lotus,' p. 811).

(17-18) 'The evil path and the good path' are technical expressions for the descending and ascending scale of worlds through which all beings have to travel upward or downward according to their deeds. (See Bigandet, 'Life of Gaudama,' p. 5, note 1 and p. 119, Burnouf, Introduction p. 599 'Lotus' p. 865 l. 7, l. 11).

(19) In taking 'śāhitaṁ' in the sense of 'samhitam' or 'samhitā,' I follow the commentator who says, "Tepiśakassa Buddhavaśānassa"

The follower of the law, even if he can recite only a small portion (of the law), but, having forsaken passion and hatred and foolishness, possesses true knowledge and serenity of mind, he, caring for nothing in this world, or that to come, has indeed a share in the priesthood

etam namam but I cannot find another passage where the Tripiṭaka or any portion of it, is called *Saṁhita* 'Saṁhita' in vv 100-102 has a different meaning. The fact that some followers of Buddha were allowed to learn short portions only of the sacred writings by heart, and to repeat them, while others had to learn a larger collection, is shown by the story of 'Kakkapāla' p 3, of 'Mahākāla,' p 26, etc.

'*Samana*,' which I have rendered by 'priesthood' expresses all that belongs to, or constitutes a real *samana* or *sramana* this being the Buddhist name corresponding to the *brāhmaṇa* or priest, of the orthodox Hindus. Buddha himself is frequently called the Good *Samana*. Fausboll takes the abstract word '*samanna*' as corresponding to the Sanskrit '*samānya*,' community, but Weber has well shown that it ought to be taken as representing '*samānya*.' He might have quoted the '*Samanna phala sutta*' of which Burnouf has given such interesting details in his '*Lotus*' p 119 seq. Fausboll also in his notes on v 332, rightly explains '*samannata* by *samanyata*.'

'*Anupadiyano*,' which I have translated by 'caring for nothing' has a technical meaning. It is the negative of the fourth *Nidāna*, the so-called *Upadāna*, which Koppen has well explained by '*Anhänglichkeit*,' taking to the world, loving the world (Koppen, '*Die Religion des Buddha*,' p 610)

CHAPTER II.

ON REFLECTION

21.

REFLECTION is the path of immortality, thoughtlessness the path of death. Those who reflect do not die, those who are thoughtless are as if dead already.

22

Having understood this clearly, those who are

(21) 'Apramāda,' which Fausbøll translates by *vigilantia*, Gogerly by *religion*, expresses literally the absence of that giddiness or thoughtlessness which characterizes the state of mind of worldly people. It is the first entering into oneself, and hence all virtues are said to have their root in 'apramāda' (Ye keki kusalā dhammā sabbe te appamādamūlakā). I have translated it by 'reflection,' sometimes by 'earnestness.' Immortality, 'amrita,' is explained by Buddhagosa as Nirvāṇa. 'Amrita' is used, no doubt, as a synonym of Nirvāṇa, but this very fact shows how many conceptions entered from the very first into the Nirvāṇa of the Buddhists.

If it is said that those who reflect do not die, this may be understood of spiritual death. The commentator, however, takes it in a technical sense, that they are free from the two last stages of the so-called Nidānas, viz the Garamarāsa (decay and death) and the Gati (new birth). (See Koppen, 'Die Religion des Buddha' p. 609.)

flection, he, the wise, having reached the repose of wisdom, looks down upon the fools, far from toil upon the toiling crowd, as a man who stands on a hill looks down on those who stand on the ground.

29.

Reflecting among the thoughtless, awake among the sleepers, the wise man advances like a racer leaving behind the hack.

30.

By earnestness did Maghavan (Indra) rise to the lordship of the gods. People praise earnestness; thoughtlessness is always blamed.

31.

A Bhikshu (mendicant) who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, moves about like fire, burning all his fetters, small or large.

32.

A Bhikshu (mendicant) who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, will not go to destruction—he is near to Nirvâna.

(31) Instead of 'saham,' which Dr Faustöll translates by *vincens*, Dr Weber by 'conquering,' I think we ought to read 'dahan,' burning, which was evidently the reading adopted by Buddhaghosa. Mr. R. C. Childers, whom I requested to see whether the MS at the India Office gives 'saham' or 'dahan,' writes that the reading 'dahan' is as clear as possible in that MS. The fetters are meant for the senses. (See Sûtra 370)

advanced in reflection, delight in reflection, and rejoice
in the knowledge of the Ariyas (the Elect)

23

These wise people, meditative, steady, always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nirvâna, the highest happiness

24

If a reflecting person has roused himself, if he is not forgetful, if his deeds are pure, if he acts with consideration, if he restrains himself, and lives according to law,—then his glory will increase

25

By rousing himself, by reflection, by restraint and control, the wise man may make for himself an island which no flood can overwhelm

26

Fools follow after vanity, men of evil wisdom The wise man possesses reflection as his best jewel

27

Follow not after vanity, nor after the enjoyment of love and lust! He who reflects and meditates, obtains ample joy

28

When the learned man drives away vanity by re-

(22) The Ariyas, the noble ones, are those who have entered on the path that leads to Nirvâna (See Koppen p 396) Their knowledge and general status is minutely described (See Koppen p 136)

37

Those who bridle their mind which travels far, moves about alone, is without a body, and hides in the chamber (of the heart), will be free from the bonds of Māra (the tempter)

38

If a man's thoughts are unsteady, if he does not know the true law, if his peace of mind is troubled, his knowledge will never be perfect

39

If a man's thoughts are not dissipated, if his mind

(39) Fausboll traces 'anavassuta' dissipated back to the Sanskrit root 'śya', to become rigid but the participle of that root would be 'śita' not 'śvuta'. Professor Weber suggests that 'anavassuta' stands for the Sanskrit 'anavasruta' which he translates 'unbefleckt,' unspotted. If 'avasruta' were the right word it might be taken in the sense of 'not fallen off' not fallen away,' but it could not mean 'unspotted,' cf 'dhairyam na śrusavat,' our firmness ran away. I have little doubt however, that 'avassuta' represents the Sk. 'avasruta' and is derived from the root 'śru' here used in its technical sense peculiar to the Buddhist literature and so well explained by Burnouf in his Appendix XIV ('Lotus' p. 820). He shows that according to Hemakandra and the *Gīṇa* alankāra śaravakṣaya, Pali śavasaṃkhaya, is counted as the sixth abhiññā, wherever six of these intellectual powers are mentioned, instead of five. The Chinese translate the term in their own Chinese fashion by *stillationis finis*, but Burnouf claims for it the definite sense of destruction of faults or vices. He quotes from the *Lalitā vistara* (Adhyaya XXII, ed. Rajendra Lal Mitra p. 448), the words uttered by Buddha when he arrived at his complete Buddha hood —

"śuṣkṣā śrava na punaś śravanti."

The vices are dried up they will not flow again

and he shows that the Pali dictionary, the 'Abhidhanappadīpika'

CHAPTER III

THOUGHT

33

As a fletcher makes straight his arrow, a wise man makes straight his trembling and unsteady thought, which is difficult to keep, difficult to turn

34

As a fish taken from his watery home and thrown on the dry ground, our thought trembles all over in order to escape the dominion of Māra (the tempter)

35

It is good to tame the mind, which is difficult to hold in and flighty, rushing wherever it listeth, a tamed mind brings happiness

36

Let the wise man guard his thoughts, for they are difficult to perceive, very artful, and they rush wherever they list thoughts well guarded bring happiness

40

Knowing that this body is (fragile) like a jar, and making this thought firm like a fortress, one should attack Mâra (the tempter) with the weapon of knowledge, one should watch him when conquered, and should never cease (from the fight)

41

Before long, alas! this body will lie on the earth, despised, without understanding, like a useless log

42

Whatever a hater may do to a hater, or an enemy

to him It is a misdirection (mithya pravṛtti) of the organs for it is vain a cause of disappointment rendering the organs of sense and sensible objects subservient to fruition Samvara is that which stops (samvṛinoti) the course of the foregoing or closes up the door or passage to it and consists in self command or restraint of organs internal and external, embracing all means of self control and subjection of the senses, calming and subduing them "

For a full account of the āśravas, see also Lalita vīstara, ed Calc pp 445 and 552, where Kāśināśrava is given as a name of Buddha

(40) 'Anivesana' has no doubt a technical meaning and may signify, one who has left his house his family and friends to become a monk A monk shall not return to his home, but travel about he shall be anivesana homeless anagara houseless But I doubt whether this can be the meaning of 'anivesana' here as the sentence, let him be an anchorite would come in too abruptly I translate it therefore in a more general sense, let him not return or turn away from the battle, let him watch Mara, even after he is vanquished, let him keep up a constant fight against the adversary

is not perplexed, if he has ceased to think of good or evil, then there is no fear for him while he is watchful.

explains 'âsava' simply by 'kâma' love, pleasure of the senses. In the Mahâparinibbâna sutta, three classes of âsava are distinguished, the kâmasavâ, the bhavâsavâ, and the aviggâsavâ. See also Burnouf, 'Lotus,' p. 665.

Burnouf takes 'âsava' at once in a moral sense but though it has that sense in the language of the Buddhists it may have had a more material sense in the beginning. That 'sru' means to run, and is in fact a merely dialectic variety of 'sru', is admitted by Burnouf. The noun 'âsava' therefore, would have meant originally, a running, and the question is, did it mean a running, *i.e.* a *lapsus*, or did it mean a running *i.e.* an impetuous desire, or, lastly did it signify originally a bodily ailment, a running sore, and assume afterwards the meaning of a moral ailment? The last view might be supported by the fact that 'âsava' in the sense of flux or sore occurs in the Atharva veda 1. 2. 4. "tad âsrâvasya bleshagam tadurogam anînasat," this is the medicine for the sore this destroyed the illness. But if this was the original meaning of the Buddhist 'âsava,' it would be difficult to explain such a word as 'anasava,' faultless, nor could the participle 'avasuta' or 'avassuta' have taken the sense of sinful or faulty or at all events, engaged in worldly thoughts attached to mundane interests. In order to get that meaning we must assign to 'âsava' the original meaning of running towards or attending to external objects (like sanga, alaya, etc.) while 'avasruta' would mean carried off towards external objects, deprived of inward rest. This conception of the original purport of 'â + sru' or *ava sru* is confirmed by a statement of Colebrooke's, who, when treating of the *Gâinas*, writes (Miscellaneous Essays, 1. 382) "Âsava is that which directs the embodied spirit (*asravayati purusham*) towards external objects. It is the occupation and employment (*vritti* or *pravritti*) of the senses or organs on sensible objects. Through the means of the senses it affects the embodied spirit with the sentiment of faction colour, smell and taste. Or it is the association or connection of body with right and wrong deeds. It comprises all the *karmas*, for they (*âsravayanti*) pervade, influence, and attend the doer, following him or attaching

40

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to him. It is a misdirection (*mithyâ pravṛtti*) of the organs, for it is vain, a cause of disappointment, rendering the organs of sense and sensible objects subservient to fruition. *Samvara* is that which stops (*samvṛnoti*) the course of the foregoing, or closes up the door or passage to it, and consists in self command or restraint of organs internal and external, embracing all means of self-control and subjection of the senses calming and subduing them.

For a full account of the *avṛttayas*, see also *Lalitā vistara*, ed Calc pp 415 and 552, where *Kaśināṣṛava* is given as a name of Buddha.

(10) 'Anivesana' has no doubt a technical meaning, and may signify, one who has left his house, his family and friends to become a monk. A monk shall not return to his home, but travel about he shall be *anivesana*, homeless, *anagāra* houseless. But I doubt whether this can be the meaning of 'anivesana' here as the sentence. let him be an anchorite would come in too abruptly. I translate it therefore in a more general sense, let him not return or turn away from the battle, let him watch Mâra, even after he is vanquished, let him keep up a constant fight against the adversary.

to an enemy, a wrongly-directed mind will do us greater mischief

43

Not a mother, not a father will do so much, nor any other relative, a well directed mind will do us greater service

CHAPTER IV.

FLOWERS

44.

Who shall overcome this earth, and the world of Yama (the lord of the departed), and the world of the gods? Who shall find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds out the (right) flower?

45

The disciple will overcome the earth, and the world of Yama, and the world of the gods. The disciple will find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds out the (right) flower

(44-45) If I differ from the translation of Fausbøll and Weber, it is because the commentary takes the two verbs, 'vigesati' and 'pakessati,' to mean in the end the same thing: *saḷḷhi karissati* he will perceive. I have not ventured to take 'vigesate' for 'viganisati,' but it should be remembered that the overcoming of the earth and of the worlds below and above, as here alluded to, is meant to be achieved by means of knowledge. 'Pakessati, he will gather' (cf. vi 41, 'Indische Sprüche,' 1560), means also, like to gather in English, he will perceive or understand and the 'dhammapada,' or path of virtue, is distinctly explained by Buddhagoṣa as consisting of the thirty seven states or stations which lead to Bodhi. (See Burnouf, 'Lotus,' p. 130, Hardy, Manual, p. 497) 'Dhamma

46

He who knows that this body is like froth, and has learnt that it is as unsubstantial as a mirage, will break the flower pointed arrow of Mara, and never see the King of Death

47

Death carries off a man who is gathering flowers and whose mind is distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village

pada might no doubt mean also a law verse but sudesita' can hardly mean 'well delivered' while as applied to a path it means 'well pointed out' (v 285) Buddha himself is called Marga darsaka and Marga desika (cf Lal Vist p 551) Nor could one well say that a man collects one single law verse Hence Fausboll naturally translates *versus legis bene enarratos* and Weber gives

48

Death subdues a man who is gathering flowers, and whose mind is distracted, before he is satiated in his pleasures

49

As the bee collects nectar and departs without injuring the flower, or its colour and scent, so let the sage dwell on earth

50

Not the failures of others, not their sins of commission or omission, but his own misdeeds and negligences should the sage take notice of

51

Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine but fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly

52

But, like a beautiful flower, full of colour and full of scent, are the fine and fruitful words of him who acts accordingly

53

As many kinds of wreaths can be made from a heap of flowers, so many good things may be achieved by a mortal if once he is born

54

The scent of flowers does not travel against the

(48) 'Antaka' death is given as an explanation of 'Mara' in the *Amarakosha* and *Abhidhanappadipika* (cf Fausbøll, p 210)

wind, nor (that of) sandal-wood, or of a bottle of Tagara oil, but the odour of good people travels even against the wind, a good man pervades every place

55

Sandal-wood or Tagara, a lotus flower, or a Vasākī, the scent of their excellence is peerless when their fragrance is out

56

But mean is the scent that comes from Tagara and sandal-wood,—the odour of excellent people rises up to the gods as the highest

57

Of the people who possess these excellencies, who live without thoughtlessness, and who are emancipated through true knowledge, Māra, the tempter, never finds the way

58-59

As on a heap of rubbish cast upon the highway the lily will grow full of sweet perfume and delightful, thus the disciple of the truly enlightened Buddha shines forth by his knowledge among those who are like rubbish, among the people that walk in darkness

(54) 'Tagara' a plant from which a scented powder is made 'Mallaka' or 'mallika' according to Benfey is an oil vessel Hence 'tagaramallikā' is probably meant for a bottle holding aromatic powder, or oil made of the Tagara

CHAPTER V

THE FOOL

60

LONG is the night to him who is awake, long is a mile to him who is tired, long is life to the foolish who do not know the true law

61

If a traveller does not meet with one who is his better, or his equal, let him firmly keep to his solitary journey, there is no companionship with a fool

62

"These sons belong to me, and this wealth belongs to me," with such thoughts a fool is tormented. He himself does not belong to himself, how much less sons and wealth?

63

The fool who knows his foolishness, is wise at least

(60) Life *samsara* is the constant revolution of birth and death which goes on for ever until the knowledge of the true law or the true doctrine of Buddha enables a man to free himself from *samsara* and to enter into Nirvana (See Parable xix p 134)

so far But a fool who thinks himself wise, he is called a fool indeed

64

If a fool be associated with a wise man all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup

65

If an intelligent man be associated for one minute only with a wise man, he will soon perceive the truth, as the tongue perceives the taste of soup

66

Fools of little understanding have themselves for their greatest enemies, for they do evil deeds which must bear bitter fruits

67

That deed is not well done of which a man must repent, and the reward of which he receives crying and with a tearful face

68.

No, that deed is well done of which a man does not repent, and the reward of which he receives gladly and cheerfully

69

As long as the evil deed done does not bear fruit, the fool thinks it is like honey, but when it ripens, then the fool suffers grief

70

Let a fool month after month eat his food (like an

ascetic) with the tip of a blade of Kusa grass, yet is he not worth the sixteenth particle of those who have well weighed the law

71

An evil deed does not turn suddenly, like milk, smouldering it follows the fool, like fire covered by ashes

72

And when the evil deed, after it has become known, brings sorrow to the fool, then it destroys his bright lot, nay it cleaves his head

73

Let the fool wish for a false reputation, for prece-

(70) The commentator clearly takes 'samkhâta' in the sense of 'samkhyata' not of 'samskrita' for he explains it by 'natadhamma tulitadhamma' The eating with the tip of Kusa-grass has reference to the fastings performed by the Brahman* but disapproved of except as a moderate discipline, by the followers of Buddha This verse seems to interrupt the continuity of the other verses which treat of the reward of evil deeds or of the slow but sure ripening of every sinful act

(71) I am not at all certain of the simile unless *milk* as applied to milk can be used in the sense of changing or turning sour In *Manu* iv 172 where a similar sentence occurs, the commentators are equally doubtful *Nadharmaṃ karito loke sadyaḥ phalati gaur iva*,—for an evil act committed in the world does not bear fruit at once like a cow, or like the earth (in due season)

(72) I take *nattam* for '*gūṣṭitam*, the causative of *gūṣṭam*' for which in Sanskrit too we have the form without : '*gūṣṭam*' Th * '*gūṣṭam*' made known revealed stands in opposition to the '*lāṇa*' covered hid of the preceding verse '*Sukkamā*' which *Fausboll* explains by '*suklanta*,' has probably a more technical and special meaning

dence among the Bhikshus, for lordship in the convents, for worship among other people !

74

“ May both the layman and he who has left the world think that this is done by me, may they be subject to me in everything which is to be done or is not to be done,” thus is the mind of the fool, and his desire and pride increase

75

“ One is the road that leads to wealth, another the road that leads to Nirvāṇa,” if the Bhikshu, the disciple of Buddha, has learnt this, he will not yearn for honour, he will strive after separation from the world

(75) Viveka which in Sanskrit means chiefly understanding has with the Buddhists the more technical meaning of separation whether separation from the world and retirement to the solitude of the forest (kaya viveka) or separation from idle thoughts (ajitta viveka), or the highest separation and freedom (Nirvana)

CHAPTER VI

THE WISE MAN

76

If you see an intelligent man who tells you where true treasures are to be found, who shows what is to be avoided, and who administers reproofs, follow that wise man; it will be better, not worse, for those who follow him

77

Let him admonish, let him command, let him hold back from what is improper!—he will be beloved of the good, by the bad he will be hated

78

Do not have evil-doers for friends, do not have low people have virtuous people for friends, have for friends the best of men

79

He who drinks in the Law lives happily with a

(78) It is hardly possible to take 'mitte kalyāṇe' in the technical sense of 'kalyāṇa mitra, ein geistlicher Rath,' a spiritual guide. Burnouf (Introd. p. 254) shows that in the technical sense 'kalvāṇa-mitra' was widely spread in the Buddhist world.

(79) The commentator clearly derives 'piti' from 'pi,' to drink.

serene mind the sage rejoices always in the Law, as
preached by the elect

80

Well makers lead the water (wherever they like),
fletchers bend the arrow, carpenters bend a log of
wood, wise people fashion themselves

81

As a solid rock is not shaken by the wind, wise
people falter not amidst blame and praise

82

Wise people, after they have listened to the laws,
become serene, like a deep, smooth, and still lake

83

Good people walk on whatever befall, the good do
not murmur, longing for pleasure, whether touched by
happiness or sorrow wise people never appear elated
or depressed

if it were derived from *pri* as Professor Weber seems to suppose,
we should expect a double *p*. *Ariya*, elect venerable is explained
by the commentator as referring to Buddha and other teachers

(80) See verse 33 and 145 the latter being a mere repetition
of our verse. The *nettika* to judge from the commentary and
from the general purport of the verse are not simply water-
carriers but builders of canals and aqueducts who force the
water to go where it would not go by itself

(81) The first line is very doubtful. I have adopted in my
translation a suggestion of Mr Childers who writes "I think it
will be necessary to take *sabbatta* in the sense of everywhere"
or under every condition *panakalandad bidesu sabbha*
dharmes says Buddhaghosha. I do not think we need assume

84.

If, whether for his own sake, or for the sake of others, a man wishes neither for a son, nor for wealth, nor for lordship, and if he does not wish for his own success by unfair means, then he is good, wise, and virtuous

85

Few are there among men who arrive at the other shore; the other people here run up and down the shore

86

But those who, when the Law has been well preached to them, follow the Law, will pass across the dominion of death, however difficult to overcome

that B means the word 'vigahanti' to be a synonym of 'vaganti' I would rather take the whole sentence together as a gloss upon the word 'vaganti' — 'vagantīti arahattañāuena apakaddhanta khandarigam vigahanti,' 'vaganti' means that, ridding themselves of lust by the wisdom which Arhat ship confers they cast it away " I am inclined to think the line means 'the righteous walk on (unmoved) in all the conditions of life' 'Nindā, paṣāṃ sukham, dukkham,' are four of the eight lokadhammas or earthly conditions, the remaining lokadhammas are 'labha, alabha, jasa, ayaṃ "

In v 215, 'passati, by a man who sees, means, by a man who sees clearly or truly. In the same manner 'vraḡ' and 'pravraḡ' may mean not simply to walk, but to walk properly

(86) 'The other shore' is meant for 'Nirvāṇa,' 'this shore' for common life. On reaching Nirvāṇa, the dominion of death is overcome. The commentator supplies 'tāritva,' having crossed, in order to explain the accusative 'maḡḡudheryam' Possibly 'paṣam eṣṣanti' should here be taken as one word, in the sense of overcoming

87, 88

A wise man should leave the dark state (of ordinary life), and follow the bright state (of the Bhikṣu). After going from his home to a homeless state, he should in his retirement look for enjoyment where there seemed to be no enjoyment. Leaving all pleasures behind, and calling nothing his own, the wise man should free himself from all the troubles of the mind.

89

Those whose mind is well grounded in the elements of knowledge, who have given up all attachments, and

(87, 88) Leaving one's home is the same as joining the clergy or becoming a mendicant without a home or family, an *anigra* or anchorite. A man in that state of *vivaka* or retirement (see v 75 note) sees that where before there seemed to be no pleasure there real pleasure is to be found or *vice versa*. A similar idea is expressed in verse 99. (See Burnouf *Lotus* p. 174 where he speaks of *Le plaisir de la satisfaction, n. de la distraction*.)

rejoice without clinging to anything, those whose frailties have been conquered, and who are full of light, are free (even) in this world

commentary on the Abhidharma when speaking of the Yoga Āśāras, says, ' En réunissant ensemble les receptacles (āśaya) les choses reçues (āśrita) et les supports (alambana), qui sont chacun composés de six termes on a dix huit termes qu'on appelle 'Dhatus ou contenants. La collection des six receptacles ce sont les organes de la vue, de l'ouïe, de l'odorat du goût, du toucher, et le manas (ou l'organe du cœur) qui est le dernier. La collection des six choses reçues c'est la connaissance produite par la vue et par les autres sens jusqu'au manas inclusivement. La collection des six supports ce sont la forme et les autres attributs sensibles jusqu'au 'Dharma (la loi ou l'être) inclusivement ' (See Burnouf Introduction p 419)

'Pāramitā' is again a technical term the Sanskrit *pari nirvāta* meaning, freed from all worldly fetters like *vimukta* ' (See Burnouf, Introduction p 590)

CHAPTER VII

THE VENERABLE

90

There is no suffering for him who has finished his journey, and abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides, and thrown off all fetters

91

They depart with their thoughts well collected, they are not happy in their abode, like swans who have left their lake, they leave their house and home

92

They who have no riches, who live on authorized food, who have perceived the Void, the Unconditioned,

(91) *Satimanto* Sansk. *smṛitimantaḥ* possessed of memory, but here used in the technical sense of *satī* 'the first of the Bodhyaṅgas' (See Burnouf Introduction p. 797) Clough translates it by intense thought and this is the original meaning of 'smar' even in Sanskrit (See Lectures on the Science of Language, ii p. 332)

Uyyunganti which Buddhaghosha explains by 'they exert themselves' seems to me to signify in this place 'they depart' i.e. 'they leave their family, and embrace an ascetic life' (See note to verse 235)

(92) *Sunnato* (or *ñā*), *animitto*, and '*vimokkho*' are three dif

the Absolute, their way is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the ether

93

He whose passions are stilled, who is not absorbed in enjoyment, who has perceived the Void, the Unconditioned, the Absolute, his path is difficult to understand, like that of the birds in the ether

94

The gods even envy him whose senses have been subdued, like horses well broken in by the driver, who is free from pride, and free from frailty

95

Such a one who does his duty is tolerant like the earth, like Indra's bolt, he is like a lake without mud, no new births are in store for him

ferent aspects of Nirvâna (See Burnouf, *Introd* 412, 462, on *sûnya*) Nimitta is cause in the most general sense, what causes existence to continue. The commentator explains it chiefly in a moral sense "ragâdinimittâbhâvena animittam tehi ka vimuttan ti animitto vimokho" : i.e. 'owing to the absence of passion and other causes without causation, because freed from these causes therefore it is called freedom without causation'

The simile is intended to compare the ways of those who have obtained spiritual freedom to the flight of birds, it being difficult to understand how the birds move on without putting their feet on anything. This, at least, is the explanation of the commentator. The same metaphor occurs Mahabh. xii 6763 'Goḥara,' which has also the meaning of food, forms a good opposition to 'bhogaṇa'

(95) Without the hints given by the commentator we should probably take the three similes of this verse in their natural sense, as illustrating the imperturbable state of an Arahanta or venerable person. The earth is always represented as an emblem of patience, the bolt of Indra if taken in its technical sense as

96

His thought is quiet, quiet are his word and deed,
when he has obtained freedom by true knowledge,
when he has thus become a quiet man

97

The man who is free from credulity, but knows
the Uncreated, who has cut all ties, removed all
temptations, renounced all desires, he is the greatest
of men

98

In a hamlet or in a forest, in the deep water or on

the bolt of a gate, might likewise suggest the idea of firmness, while the lake is a constant representative of serenity and purity. The commentator, however, suggests that what is meant is, that the earth, though flowers are cast on it, does not feel pleasure, nor the bolt of Indra displeasure, although less sa-
voury things are thrown upon it, and that in like manner a wise person is indifferent to honour or dishonour.

(96) That this very natural threefold division, thought, word, and deed, the 'trividha dvāra' or the three doors of the Buddhists (Hardy, 'Manual' p. 494), was not peculiar to the Buddhists or unknown to the Brahmans, has been proved against Dr. Weber by Professor Koppen in his 'Religion des Buddha,' i. p. 445. He particularly called attention to *Manu* xii. 4. 8, and he might have added *Mahābh.* xii. 4059, 6512, 6549, 6554, xiii. 5677, etc. Dr. Weber has himself afterwards brought forward a passage from the *Atharva veda*, vi. 96, 3 ('*yaś kakshusha manasa yaś ka vata upārima*'), which, however, has a different meaning. A better one was quoted by him from the *Taitt. Ar.* x. 1, 12 (*yan me manasā, vāḥ, karmāṇi vā dushkritāṃ kṛtam*). Similar expressions have been shown to exist in the *Zendavesta*, and among the *Manichæans* (Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iii. p. 413, see also *Roebtingk's Dictionary*, s. v. *kāya*). There was no ground, therefore, for supposing that this formula had found its way into the Christian Liturgy from Persia, for, as Professor Cowell remarks, Greek

the dry land, wherever venerable persons (Arahanta) dwell, that place is delightful.

99

Forests are delightful; where the world finds no delight, there the passionless will find delight, for they look not for pleasures.

writers, such as Plato, employ very similar expressions, *e g* Protag p 318, 30, *πρὸς ἅπαν ἔργον καὶ λόγον καὶ διανοημα*. In fact, the opposition between words and deeds occurs in almost every writer, from Homer downwards, and the further distinction between thoughts and words is clearly implied in such expressions as, 'they say in their heart' That the idea of sin committed by thought was not a new idea, even to the Jews, may be seen from Prov xxiv 9 'the thought of foolishness is sin' In the Apastamba sūtras, lately edited by Professor Buhler, we find the expression, 'atho jatimka manasā vakā kakshushā, ā samkalpajan dhyāyaty ābhābhi-vipasyati, ā tathaiva tad bhavati tyupadisiṁti,' They say that whatever a Brahman intending with his mind, voice, or eye, thinks, says, or looks, that will be This is clearly a very different division, and it is the same which is intended in the passage from the Atharva veda, quoted above In the mischief done by the eye, we have the first indication of the evil eye (Mahabbh xii 3117 See Dhammajāda, v 231-234)

CHAPTER VIII

THE THOUSANDS

100

Even though a speech be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of sense is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet

101

Even though a Gâthâ (poem) be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of a Gâthâ is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet

102

Though a man recite a hundred Gâthâs made up of senseless words, one word of the law is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet

103

If one man conquer in battle a thousand times thousand men, and if another conquer himself, he is the greatest of conquerors

(100) 'Vâk' is to be taken as a nom sing fem, instead of the Sk 'vâk

104, 105

One's own self conquered is better than all other people; not even a god, a Gandharva, not Māra with Brahman could change into defeat the victory of a man who has vanquished himself, and always lives under restraint.

106.

If a man for a hundred years sacrifice month after month with a thousand, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded (in true knowledge), better is that homage than a sacrifice for a hundred years.

(104) '*Gītam*,' according to the commentator, stands for *gīto* (lingavipallāso, i.e. *viparyaya*), 'have' is an interjection

The Devas (gods), Gandharvas (fairies), and other fanciful beings of the Brahmanic religion, such as the Nāgas, Sarpas, Garudas, etc., were allowed to continue in the traditional language of the people who had embraced Buddhism. See the pertinent remarks of Burnouf, Introduction, p 131 *seq.*, 181. On Māra, the tempter, see v 7. Sastram Aiyar, '*On the Gāina Religion*,' p xi, says — "Moreover as it is declared in the *Gāina Vedas* that all the gods worshipped by the various Hindu sects, viz. Siva, Brahma, Vishnu, Ganapati, Subramanyan, and others, were devoted adherents of the above-mentioned Tirthankaras, the *Gāinas* therefore do not consider them as unworthy of their worship, but as they are servants of Arugan, they consider them to be deities of their system, and accordingly perform certain pūgās in honour of them, and worship them also." The case is more doubtful with orthodox Buddhists. '*Orthodox Buddhists*,' as Mr D Alwis writes (*Āttanagalu vāsa*, p 55) "do not consider the worship of the Devas as being sanctioned by him who disclaimed for himself and all the devas any power over man's soul. Yet the Buddhists are everywhere idol worshippers. Buddhism, however, acknowledges the existence of some of the Hindu deities, and from the various friendly offices which those Devas are said to have rendered to Gotama, Buddhists evince a respect for their idols." See also '*Parables*,' p 162.

107

If a man for a hundred years worship Agni (fire) in the forest, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded (in true knowledge), better is that homage than sacrifice for a hundred years

108

Whatever a man sacrifice in this world as an offering or as an oblation for a whole year in order to gain merit, the whole of it is not worth a quarter, reverence shown to the righteous is better

109

He who always greets and constantly reveres the aged, four things will increase to him, viz life, beauty, happiness power

110

But he who lives a hundred years, vicious and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is virtuous and reflecting

(109) Dr Fausboll in a most important note called attention to the fact that the same verse with slight variations occurs in Manu We there read n 121 —

Ablivād namāsyā nityam vṛddhopasevinaḥ
Katvārī sampravardī ante āyur v dya yaso bala n

Here the four things are life knowledge glory power

In the Apastamba sutras 1 2 5 15 the reward promised for the same virtue is svargam ayus ka heaven and long life It seems therefore as if the original idea of this verse came from the Brahmins and was afterwards adopted by the Buddhists How largely it spread is shown by Dr Fausboll from the Asiatic Researches xx p 259 where the same verse of the Dhammapada is mentioned as being in use among the Buddhists of Sam

111

And he who lives a hundred years, ignorant and unrestrained, a life of one day is better, if a man is wise and reflecting

112

And he who lives a hundred years idle and weak a life of one day is better, if a man has attained firm strength

113

And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing beginning and end, a life of one day is better if a man sees beginning and end

114

And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the immortal place a life of one day is better if a man sees the immortal place

115

And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the highest law, a life of one day is better, if a man sees the highest law

(112) On kusito and hnaviryo see note to x 7

CHAPTER IX

EVIL

116

If a man would hasten towards the good, he should keep his thought away from evil, if a man does what is good slothfully, his mind delights in evil

117

If a man commits a sin, let him not do it again, let him not delight in sin pain is the outcome of evil

118

If a man does what is good, let him do it again, let him delight in it happiness is the outcome of good

119

Even an evildoer sees happiness as long as his evil deed has not ripened, but when his evil deed has ripened, then does the evildoer see evil

120

Even a good man sees evil days, as long as his good

deed has not ripened; but when his good deed has ripened, then does the good man see happy days.

121.

Let no man think lightly of evil, saying in his heart, It will not come near unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the fool becomes full of evil, even if he gathers it little by little.

122.

Let no man think lightly of good, saying in his heart, It will not benefit me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the wise man becomes full of good, even if he gather it little by little.

123.

Let a man avoid evil deeds, as a merchant if he has few companions and carries much wealth avoids a dangerous road; as a man who loves life avoids poison.

124.

He who has no wound on his hand, may touch poison with his hand; poison does not affect one who has no wound; nor is there evil for one who does not commit evil.

125.

If a man offend a harmless, pure, and innocent per-

(124) This verse, taken in connection with what precedes, can only mean that no one suffers evil but he who has committed evil, or sin, an idea the very opposite of that pronounced in Luke xiii. 1-5

son, the evil *falls back upon that fool*, like light dust thrown up against the wind

126

Some people are born again, evildoers go to hell, righteous people go to heaven, those who are free from all worldly desires enter Nirvana

127

Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where a man might be freed from an evil deed

128

Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where death could not overcome (the mortal)

(125) Cf Indische Sprüche 1582 Kathasar tsagara 49 222

(126) For a description of hell and its long yet not endless sufferings see Parables p 132 The pleasures of heaven too are frequently described in these Parables and elsewhere Buddha himself enjoyed these pleasures of heaven before he was born for the last time It is probably when good and evil deeds are equally balanced that men are born again as human beings this at least is the opinion of the Ganas (Cf Chintamani ed H Bover Introd p xv)

CHAPTER X

PUNISHMENT

129

All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death, remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill nor cause slaughter.

(129) One feels tempted no doubt to take 'upama' in the sense of the nearest (der Nächste), the neighbour, and to translate having made oneself one's neighbour, i.e. 'loving one's neighbour as oneself'. But as 'upamam' with a short *a* is the correct accusative of 'upamā' we must translate 'having made oneself the likeness, the image of others,' 'having placed oneself in the place of others'. This is an expression which occurs frequently in Sanskrit (cf. Hitopadesa : 11)

'Pranā yathātmāno 'bhīṣhī bhūtānam api te tatha,

Ātmāupamāyena bhuteshu dāyam kuruṁti sādhaṇāḥ "

'As life is dear to oneself it is dear also to other living beings by comparing oneself with others, good people bestow pity on all beings'

See also Hit : 12, Rām v 23, 5, 'atmānam upamāṁ kṛtvā sveshu dīreshu ramyatam' 'Making oneself a likeness, i.e. putting oneself in the position of other people, it is right to love none but one's own wife'. Dr Fausbøll has called attention to similar passages in the Mahābhārata xiii 5569 seq

130

All men tremble at punishment, all men love life,
remember that thou art like unto them, and do not
kill, nor cause slaughter

131

He who for his own sake punishes or kills beings
longing for happiness, will not find happiness after
death

132

He who for his own sake does not punish or kill
beings longing for happiness, will find happiness after
death

133

Do not speak harshly to anybody, those who are
spoken to will answer thee in the same way Angry
speech is painful, blows for blows will touch thee

134

If, like a trumpet trampled underfoot, thou utter

(131) Dr Fausbøll points out the striking similarity between
this verse and two verses occurring in *Manu* and the *Maha
bharata*

Manu v 45

Yo 'himsakāni bhūtāni nāsty ātmasukhē'kṣaya

Sa gṛhṇāṣṭi ka mṛtaḥ kṛva na kvākit sukham edhate

Mahabh xiii 5568

Ahimsakāni bhūtāni dandēṇ vin hanti yaś

Atmanā sukham iklāṣa sa pretya naiva sukhi bhavet

If it were not for *ahimsakāni* in which *Manu* and the *Maha
bh rata* agree I should say that the verses in both were Sanskrit
modifications of the Pali original. The verse in the *Mahabharata*
presupposes the verse of the *Dhammapada*

(133) See *Mahābhārata* xii 4006

not, then thou hast reached Nirvâna, anger is not known in thee

135

As a cowherd with his staff gathers his cows into the stable, so do Age and Death gather the life of man.

136

A fool does not know when he commits his evil deeds but the wicked man burns by his own deeds, as if burnt by fire

137

He who inflicts pain on innocent and harmless persons, will soon come to one of these ten states

138

He will have cruel suffering, loss, injury of the body, heavy affliction, or loss of mind,

139

Or a misfortune of the king, or a fearful accusation, or loss of relations, or destruction of treasures,

(136) The metaphor of 'burning' for 'suffering' is very common in Buddhist literature. Everything burns, i.e. everything suffers' was one of the first experiences of Buddha himself. See v 146

(138) 'Cruel suffering' is explained by *sisaroga*, headache, etc. 'Loss' is taken for loss of money. 'Injury of the body' is held to be the cutting off of the arm, and other limbs. 'Heavy afflictions' are, again, various kinds of diseases.

(139) 'Misfortune of the king' may mean, a misfortune that happened to the king, defeat by an enemy, and therefore conquest of the country. 'Upasarga' means accident, misfortune. Dr Fausboll translates '*ragato va upa=saggam*' by 'ful

140

Or lightning-fire will burn his houses, and when
his body is destroyed, the fool will go to hell

141

Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fast-
ing, or lying on the earth, not rubbing with dust, not
sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not
overcome desires

gentis (lunæ) defectionem Dr Weber by Bestrafung vom
König' Abbhakkhina n Sansk abhyakhyanam is a heavy ac-
cusation for high treason or similar offences

The destruction of pleasures or treasures is explained by
gold being changed to coals (see Parables p 98) pearls to cot-
ton seed corn to potsherds, and by men and cattle becoming
blind, lame etc

142

He who, though dressed in fine apparel, exercises tranquillity, is quiet, subdued, restrained, chaste, and has ceased to find fault with all other beings, he indeed is a Brahmana, an ascetic (*Śramana*), a friar (*bhikṣu*)

143

Is there in this world any man so restrained by humility that he does not mind reproof, as a well trained horse the whip?

144

Like a well trained horse when touched by the

of the sa nts like Śariputra Maudgalyayana and others ran out full of joy But when she saw these friars with their hair like pigeon wings covered by nothing but dirt offensive and looking like demons she became sad Why are you sad? said her mother in law Sumagadhā replied O mother if these are sa nts what must sinners be like?

Burnouf (Intro d p 312) supposed that the *Gaṇas* only and not the Buddhists allowed nakedness But the *Gaṇas* too do not allow it universally They are divided into two parties the *Svetambaras* and *Digambaras* The *Svetambaras* clad in white are the followers of Paśyavanatha and wear clothes The *Digambaras* i e sky clad d robed are followers of Mahāvira and res dent chiefly in Southern India At present they too wear clothing but not when eating (See Sastram A yā p xxi)

The *gata* or the hair platted and gathered up in a knot was a sign of a Śaiva ascetic The sitting motionless is one of the postures assumed by ascetics Clough explains *ukkuṭika* as the act of sitting on the heels Wilson gives for *utkasukasana* sitting on the hams (See Fausboll note on verse 140)

(142) As to *dandānidhān* see Mahābh xii 6509

(143 144) I am very doubtful as to the real meaning of these verses I think the r object is to show how reproof or punish

whip, be ye active and lively, and by faith, by virtue, by energy, by meditation, by discernment of the law you will overcome this great pain (of reproof), perfect in knowledge and in behaviour, and never forgetful

145

Well makers lead the water (wherever they like),
fletchers bend the arrow, carpenters break a log of
wood, wise people fashion themselves

ment should be borne I therefore take *bhadra assa* in the sense of a well broke or well trained not in the sense of a spirited horse. *Ura* no doubt means generally shame but it also means humility or modesty. However I give my translation as conjectural only for there are several passages in the commentary which I do not understand

(145) The same as verse 80

CHAPTER XI

OLD AGE

146

How is there laughter, how is there joy, as this world is always burning? Why do you not seek a light, ye who are surrounded by darkness?

147

Look at this dressed up lump, covered with wounds, joined together, sickly, full of many thoughts, which has no strength, no hold!

148

This body is wasted, full of sickness, and frail, this heap of corruption breaks to pieces, the life in it is death

149

Those white bones, like gourds thrown away in the autumn, what pleasure is there in looking at them?

(146) Dr Fausboll translates *semper exardescit recordatio*,
Dr Weber, 'da s doch beständig Kummer giebt' The commen-
tator explains as this abode is always lighted by passion and the
other fires (Cf Hardy 'Manual' p 490)

150

After a frame has been made of the bones, it is covered with flesh and blood, and there dwell in it old age and death, pride and deceit

151

The brilliant chariots of kings are destroyed, the body also approaches destruction, but the virtues of good people never approach destruction, thus do the good say to the good

152

A man who has learnt little, grows old like an ox, his flesh grows, but his knowledge does not grow

153, 154

Without ceasing shall I run through a course of many births, looking for the maker of this tabernacle,—and painful is birth again and again But now, maker of the tabernacle, thou hast been seen, thou shalt not make up this tabernacle again All thy rafters are broken, thy ridge pole is sundered, the mind, being sundered, has attained to the extinction of all desires

(150) The expression *mamsaloh talepanam* is curiously like the express on used in *Manu* vi 76 *mamsasonitalepanam* and in several passages of the *Mahabharata* xi 12462 12053 as pointed out by Dr Fausboll

(153 154) These two verses are famous among Buddhists for they are the words which the founder of Buddhism is supposed to have uttered at the moment he attained to Buddhahood (See Spence Hardy *Manual* p 180) According to the *Lalitavistara* the words uttered on that solemn occasion were those quoted in the note to verse 39 Though the purport of both is

155

Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained wealth in their youth, they perish like old herons in a lake without fish

156

Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained wealth in their youth, they lie like broken bows, sighing after the past

the same, the tradition preserved by the Southern Buddhists shows greater vigour than that of the North

'The maker of the tabernacle' is explained as a poetical expression for the cause of new births, at least according to the views of Buddha's followers, whatever his own views may have been. Buddha had conquered Māra, the representative of worldly temptations, the father of worldly desires, and as desires (*tambā*) are, by means of 'upādāna' and 'bhava,' the cause of *gati*, or birth, the destruction of desires and the defeat of Mara are really the same thing, though expressed differently in the philosophical and legendary language of the Buddhists. *Tambā*, thirst or desire, is mentioned as serving in the army of Māra ('Lotus,' p 443). There are some valuable remarks of Mr D'Alwis on these verses in the '*Atta nugaluvansa*,' p cixviii. This learned scholar points out a certain similarity in the metaphors used by Buddha, and some verses in Manu, vi 76-77. (See also Mahābh xii 12463-4). Mr D'Alwis' quotation, however, from '*Pāṇini*,' iii 2, 112, proves in no way that '*sandhavissan*,' or any other future can, if standing by itself, be used in a past sense. *Pāṇini* speaks of '*bhūta-anadyatana*' and he restricts the use of the future in a past sense to cases where the future follows verbs expressive of recollection, etc.

(155) On '*gāyanti*,' & '*kāyanti*,' see Dr Bollensen's learned remarks, '*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl Gesellschaft*,' xviii 834, and Boehtlingk Roth, s v '*kāḥ*'

CHAPTER XII

SELF

157

If a man hold himself dear let him watch himself carefully , during one at least out of the three watches a wise man should be watchful

158

Let each man first direct himself to what is proper, then let him teach others , thus a wise man will not suffer

159

Let each man make himself as he teaches others to be he who is well subdued may subdue (others), one s own self is difficult to subdue

160

Self is the lord of self who else could be the lord ?
With self well subdued a man finds a lord such as few can find

(157) The three watches of the night are meant for the three stages of life

161

The evil done by oneself, self begotten self bred,
crushes the wicked, as a diamond breaks a precious
stone

162

He whose wickedness is very great brings himself
down to that state where his enemy wishes him to be,
as a creeper does with the tree which it surrounds

163

Bad deeds, and deeds hurtful to ourselves are easy
to do, what is beneficial and good, that is very diffi-
cult to do

164

The wicked man who scorns the rule of the vener-
able (Arahat), of the elect (Ariya) of the virtuous,
and follows false doctrine, he bears fruit to his own
destruction, like the fruits of the *Katthaka* reed

165

By oneself the evil is done, by oneself one suffers,
by oneself evil is left undone, by oneself one is puri-
fied Purity and impurity belong to oneself, no one
can purify another

(164) The reed either dies after it has borne fruit or is cut
down for the sake of its fruit

Ditthi literally view is used even by itself like the Greek
haeresis in the sense of heresy (see Burnouf *Lotus* p 444) In
other places a distinction is made between *mikkhaditthi* (v 167
316) and *sammaditthi* (v 319) If *arahatam ariyanam* are
used in the technical sense we should translate the reverend
Arhats — Arhat being the highest degree of the four orders of
Aryas viz Srotaapanna Sakridagamin Anagamin and Arhat
See note to v 178

166

Let no one forget his own duty for the sake of another's, however great, let a man, after he has discerned his own duty, be always attentive to his duty

(166) 'Attha' lit 'object' must be taken in a moral sense as 'duty' rather than as 'advantage'. The story which Buddhaghosha tells of the 'Thera Attadattha' gives a clue to the origin of some of his parables which seem to have been invented to suit the text of the Dhammapada rather than *vice versa*. A similar case occurs in the commentary to verse 227.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WORLD

167

Do not follow the evil law ! Do not live on in thoughtlessness ! Do not follow false doctrine ! Be not a friend of the world

168

Rouse thyself ! do not be idle ! Follow the law of virtue ! The virtuous lives happily in this world and in the next

169

Follow the law of virtue, do not follow that of sin The virtuous lives happily in this world and in the next

170

Look upon the world as a bubble, look upon it as a mirage the king of death does not see him who thus looks down upon the world

171

Come, look at this glittering world, like unto a royal chariot, the foolish are immersed in it, but the wise do not cling to it

172

He who formerly was reckless and afterwards became sober, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds

173

He whose evil deeds are covered by good deeds, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds

174

This world is dark, few only can see here, a few only go to heaven, like birds escaped from the net

175

The swans go on the path of the sun, they go through the ether by means of their miraculous power, the wise are led out of this world, when they have conquered Mara and his train

176

If a man has transgressed one law, and speaks lies, and scoffs at another world there is no evil he will not do

177

The uncharitable do not go to the world of the gods, fools only do not praise liberality, a wise man rejoices in liberality, and through it becomes blessed in the other world

(175) *Hamsa* may be meant for the bird whether flamingo or swan or ibis (see Hardy *Manual* p 17) but it may also I believe be taken in the sense of *śunt*. As to *iddh* magical power *i.e.* *riddhi* see Burnouf *Lotus* p 310 Spence Hardy *Manual* pp 198 and 504 *Legends* pp 55 177 See note to verse 204

178.

Better than sovereignty over the earth, better than going to heaven, better than lordship over all worlds, is the reward of the first step in holiness.

(178) 'Sotâpatti,' the technical term for the first step in the path that leads to Nirvâna. There are four such steps, or stages, and on entering each, a man receives a new title —

1 The 'Srota âpanna,' lit he who has got into the stream. A man may have seven more births before he reaches the other shore, i.e. 'Nirvâna.'

2 'Sakradâgâmin,' lit he who comes back once, so called because, after having entered this stage, a man is born only once more among men or gods.

3 'Anâgamin,' lit he who does not come back, so called because, after this stage, a man cannot be born again in a lower world, but can only enter a Brahman world before he reaches Nirvâna.

4 'Arhat,' the venerable, the perfect, who has reached the highest stage that can be reached, and from which Nirvâna is perceived (sukkhavipâsanâ, 'Lotus,' p 849). See Hardy, 'Eastern Monachism,' p 280, Burnouf, Introduction, p 209, Koppen, p 398, D Alwis, Attanugaluvaṇṇa, p cixiv.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE AWAKENED (BUDDHA)

179

He whose conquest is not conquered again, whose conquest no one in this world escapes, by what path can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, into a wrong path?

180

He whom no desire with its snares and poisons can lead astray, by what path can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, into a wrong path?

(179-180) These two verses, though their general meaning seems clear, contain many difficulties which I do not at all pretend to solve. 'Buddha,' the Awakened, is to be taken as an appellative rather than as the proper name of the Buddha. It means, anybody who has arrived at complete knowledge. 'Ananta golāram' I take in the sense of, possessed of unlimited knowledge. 'Apadam' which Dr Fausboll takes as an epithet of Buddha and translates by *non investigabilis* I take as an accusative governed by 'ne-satha,' and in the sense of wrong place (uppatha, v 309, p 396, l 2) or an.

The second line of verse 179 is most difficult. The commentator seems to take it in the sense of 'in whose conquest nothing is wanting' "who has conquered all sins and all passions." In that case we should have to supply *kilesa* (masc) or *rāgo*, or take 'koḷi' in the sense of any enemy. Cf v 105

181

Even the gods envy those who are awakened and not forgetful, who are given to meditation, who are wise, and who delight in the repose of retirement (from the world)

182

Hard is the conception of men, hard is the life of mortals, hard is the hearing of the True Law, hard is the birth of the Awakened (the attainment of Buddhahood)

183

Not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, that is the teaching of the Awakened

184

The Awakened call patience the highest penance,

(183) This verse is again one of the most solemn verses among the Buddhists. According to Csoma de Koros, it ought to follow the famous *Āryā* stanza, 'Ye dhamma' ('Lotus' p 522) and serve as its complement. But though this may be the case in Tibet, it was not so originally. Burnouf has fully discussed the metre and meaning of our verse on pp 527, 528 of his '*Lotus*'. He prefers '*sakittaparidamanam*,' which Csoma translated by 'the mind must be brought under entire subjection' (*sakittaparidamanam*) and the late Dr Mill by '*proprii intellectus subjugatio*'. But his own MS of the '*Mahapadhana sutta*' gave likewise '*sakittapariyodapanam*,' and this is no doubt the correct reading. (See D Alwis, '*Atanugaluvaṇṇa* cxxix') We found '*pariyodappeya*' in verse 88, in the sense of freeing oneself from the troubles of thought. The only question is whether the root 'da' with the prepositions 'pari' and 'ava,' should be taken in the sense of cleansing oneself from or cutting oneself out from. I prefer the former conception, the same which in Buddhist literature has given rise to the name *Avadana*, a legend, originally a pure and virtuous act, an *ἀποιστεια*, afterwards a sacred story, and possibly a story the hearing of which purifies the mind. See Boehtlingk *Roth s v* '*avadana*'

long suffering the highest Nirvana, for he is not an anchorite (Pravragita) who strikes others, he is not an ascetic (Sramana) who insults others

185

Not to blame, not to strike, to live restrained under the law, to be moderate in eating, to sleep and eat alone, and to dwell on the highest thoughts,—this is the teaching of the Awakened

186

There is no satisfying lusts, even by a shower of gold pieces, he who knows that lusts have a short taste and cause pain, he is wise

187

Even in heavenly pleasures he finds no satisfaction, the disciple who is fully awakened delights only in the destruction of all desires

(185) Patimokkhe under the law : according to the law the law which leads to Moksha or freedom Prâtimoksha is the title of the oldest collection of the moral laws of the Buddhists (Burnouf Introduction p 300 Bhandet The Life of Gaudama p 439) and as it was common both to the Southern and the Northern Buddhists patimokkhe in our passage may possibly be meant as Professor Weber suggests as the title of that very collection The commentator explains it by *gâthakāsila* and *pāṭi nokkhaṇṇa* I take *sayanāsam* for *sayanasanam* see Malab xi 668 In xi 9978 however we find also *sayyasano*

(187) There is a curious similarity between this verse and verse 603 (9919) of the Sautiparva

Yat ka kâmasukham loke yat ka divyam mahat sukham
Trisr nâksa ayasukhasya te nârhatâh shodasam kalam

And whatever delight of love there is on earth and whatever is the great delight in heaven they are not worth the sixtieth part of the pleasure which springs from the destruction of all desires

188.

Men, driven by fear, go to many a refuge, to mountains and forests, to groves and sacred trees.

189.

But that is not a safe refuge, that is not the best refuge; a man is not delivered from all pains after having gone to that refuge.

190.

He who takes refuge with Buddha, the Law, and the Church; he who, with clear understanding, sees the four holy truths:—

191.

Viz. Pain, the origin of pain, the destruction of pain, and the eightfold holy way that leads to the quieting of pain;—

192.

That is the safe refuge, that is the best refuge; having gone to that refuge, a man is delivered from all pain.

(188–192) These verses occur in Sanskrit in the ‘Prâtibhāya-sūtra,’ translated by Burnouf, Introduction, pp 162–189, see p 186 Burnouf translates ‘rukkhaḥetyāni’ by ‘arbres consacrés,’ properly, sacred shrines under or near a tree

(190) Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha are called the ‘Trisarana’ (cf Burnouf, Introd p 630) The four holy truths are the four statements that there is pain in this world, that the source of pain is desire, that desire can be annihilated, that there is a way (shown by Buddha) by which the annihilation of all desires can be achieved, and freedom be obtained That way consists of eight parts (See Burnouf, Introduction p 630) The eightfold way forms the subject of chapter xviii (See also ‘Chips from a German Workshop,’ 2nd ed vol 1 p 251 seq)

193

A supernatural person is not easily found, he is not born everywhere. Wherever such a sage is born, that race prospers.

194

Happy is the rising of the Awakened, happy is the teaching of the True Law, happy is peace in the church, happy is the devotion of those who are at peace.

195, 196

He who pays homage to those who deserve homage, whether the awakened (Buddha) or their disciples, those who have overcome the host (of evils) and crossed the flood of sorrow, he who pays homage to such as have found deliverance and know no fear, his merit can never be measured by anybody.

CHAPTER XV

HAPPINESS

197

Let us live happily then, not hating those who hate us ! let us dwell free from hatred among men who hate !

198

Let us live happily then, free from ailments among the ailing ! let us dwell free from ailments among men who are ailing !

199

Let us live happily then, free from greed among the greedy ! let us dwell free from greed among men who are greedy !

200

Let us live happily then, though we call nothing

(198) The ailment here meant is moral rather than physical Cf Mahabb xii 9924 'samprasanto nirāmavañ, 9925, yo 'sau prānāntiko rogaś tām triśhnām tvagatañ sukham '

(200) The words placed in the mouth of the king of Videha, while his residence Mithilā was in flames, are curiously like our verse of Mahabb xii 9917,

Sasukham vata givāmi yasya me nāsti kimkana.

Mithilāvañ pradiptāyāñ na me daś vati kimkana

our own ! We shall be like the bright gods, feeding
on happiness !

201

Victory breeds hatred, for the conquered is unhappy
He who has given up both victory and defeat, he,
the contented is happy

202

There is no fire like passion, there is no unlucky
die like hatred, there is no pain like this body, there
is no happiness like rest

203

Hunger is the worst of diseases, the body the

I live happily indeed for I have nothing while Mithilā is in
flames nothing of mine is burning

The ābhassara : e ābhāsvara the bright gods are frequently
mentioned (Cf Burnouf Introd p 611)

(202) I take *kālī* in the sense of an unlucky die which makes
a player lose a game. A real simile seems wanted here as in
v 252 where for the same reason I translate *grāḥa* by shark
not by captivity as Dr Fausbøll proposes. The same scholar
translates *kālī* in our verse by peccatum. If there is any ob-
jection to translating *kālī* in Pali by unlucky die I should still
prefer to take it in the sense of the age of depravity or the demon
of depravity.

Body for *khaṇḍha* is a free translation but it is difficult
to find any other rendering. According to the Buddhists each
sentient being consists of five *khaṇḍha* (*skandha*) or branches
the organized body (*rūpa khaṇḍha*) with its four internal capa-
cities of sensation (*vedanā*) perception (*samgā*) conception
(*samskāra*) knowledge (*viññāna*). See Burnouf Introd pp 589
634 Lotus p 335

(203) It is difficult to give an exact rendering of *samskāra*
which I have translated sometimes by body or created things
sometimes by natural desires. *Samskāra* is the fourth of

greatest of pains, if one knows this truly, that is Nirvâna, the highest happiness

204

Health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness the best riches, trust is the best of relatives, Nirvâna, the highest happiness

205

He who has tasted the sweetness of solitude and tranquillity, is free from fear and free from sin, while he tastes the sweetness of drinking in the Law

the five 'khandhas' but the commentator takes it here, as well as in v. 255 for the five 'khandhas' together, in which case we can only translate it by body, or created things. There is however, another 'samskāra' that which follows immediately upon 'avidyā,' ignorance, as the second of the 'nidānas' or causes of existence, and this too might be called the greatest pain, considering that it is the cause of birth which is the cause of all pain. Burnouf, 'Lotus' pp 109 827 says 'l'homme des Buddhistes qui doue intérieurement de l'idée de la forme voit au dehors des formes et après les avoir vaincues, se dit je connais je vois ressemble singulièrement au 'sujet victorieux de chaque objet' qui demeure le sujet triomphant de toutes choses'.

'Samskāra' seems sometimes to have a different and less technical meaning and be used in the sense of conceptions plans desires as for instance in v 368, where *samkhārāṇaṃ khayaṃ* is used much like 'tambākhaya'. Desires however, are the result of 'samkhāra' and if the *samkhāras* are destroyed, desires cease, see v 154 '*visamkhāragatam kīttam tamhanam khayam aggahā*'. Again in his comment on v 75 Buddhaghosha says '*upadhi viveko samkharasamganikam vinodeti,*' and again, '*upadhi viveko ka nirupadhinām puggalānaṃ visamkhāragatanānaṃ*'.

For a similar sentiment, see Stanislas Julien 'Les Avadānas,' vol 1 p 40, 'Le corps est la plus grande source de souffrance' etc. I should say that 'khandha' in v 202 and 'samkhara' in v 203, are nearly if not quite, synonymous. I should prefer to

206

The sight of the elect (Arya) is good, to live with them is always happiness, if a man does not see fools, he will be truly happy

207

He who walks in the company of fools suffers a long way, company with fools, as with an enemy, is always painful, company with the wise is pleasure, like meeting with kinsfolk

208

Therefore, one ought to follow the wise, the intelligent, the learned, the much enduring, the dutiful, the elect, one ought to follow a good and wise man, as the moon follows the path of the stars.

read *gigakkhā parama* as a compound *G gakkhā* or as it is written in one MS *ḍgakkhā* (Sk *gighatsā*) means not only hunger but appetite desire

(208) I should like to read *sukho ka dharasamvaso*

CHAPTER XVI.

PLEASURE.

209.

He who gives himself to vanity, and does not give himself to meditation, forgetting the real aim (of life) and grasping at pleasure, will in time envy him who has exerted himself in meditation.

210.

Let no man ever look for what is pleasant, or what is unpleasant. Not to see what is pleasant is pain, and it is pain to see what is unpleasant.

211.

Let, therefore, no man love anything; loss of the beloved is evil. Those who love nothing, and hate nothing, have no fetters.

212.

From pleasure comes grief, from pleasure comes fear; he who is free from pleasure knows neither grief nor fear.

213.

From affection comes grief, from affection comes

fear, he who is free from affection knows neither grief nor fear

214

From lust comes grief, from lust comes fear, he who is free from lust knows neither grief nor fear

215

From love comes grief, from love comes fear, he who is free from love knows neither grief nor fear

216

From greed comes grief, from greed comes fear, he who is free from greed knows neither grief nor fear

217

He who possesses virtue and intelligence, who is just, speaks the truth, and does what is his own business, him the world will hold dear

218

He in whom a desire for the Ineffable (Nirvāṇa) has sprung up, who is satisfied in his mind, and whose thoughts are not bewildered by love, he is called Ūrdhvamsrotas (carried upwards by the stream)

(218) 'Ūrdhvamsrotas or uddhamsoto is the technical name for one who has reached the world of the Avrahas (Aviha) and is proceeding to that of the Akanishthas (Akanittha). This is the last stage before he reaches the formless world the Arupa dhātu (See Parables p 123 Burnouf Introd 599) Originally 'urdhvamsrotas may have been used in a less technical sense meaning one who swims against the stream and is not carried away by the vulgar passions of the world

219.

Kinsfolk, friends, and lovers salute a man who has been long away, and returns safe from afar.

220.

In like manner his good works receive him who has done good, and has gone from this world to the other;—as kinsmen receive a friend on his return.

CHAPTER XVII

ANGER

221

Let a man leave anger, let him forsake pride, let him overcome all bondage ! No sufferings befall the man who is not attached to either body or soul, and who calls nothing his own

222

He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot, him I call a real driver, other people are but holding the reins

223

Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good, let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth !

224

Speak the truth, do not yield to anger, give, if

(221) 'Body and soul is the translation of *nāma rūpa* ' lit 'name and form' the ninth of the Buddhist *Nidānas* (Cf Burnouf *Introd* p 501 see also Gogerly *Lecture on Buddhism and Buddhism* Grandet *The Life of Gautama* p 454)

(223) *Mahabharata* xii 3550 *asadhun sadhuna gayet*

thou art asked, from the little thou hast, by those steps thou wilt go near the gods

225

The sages who injure nobody, and who always control their body, they will go to the unchangeable place (Nirvâna), where if they have gone, they will suffer no more

226

Those who are always watchful, who study day and night, and who strive after Nirvâna, their passions will come to an end

227

This is an old saying, O Atula, this is not only of to-day "They blame him who sits silent, they blame him who speaks much, they also blame him who says little, there is no one on earth who is not blamed

228

There never was, there never will be, nor is there

(227) It appears from the commentary that 'porânam' and 'aggatanam' are neuters referring to what happened formerly and what happens to day, and that they are not to be taken as adjectives referring to 'âsinam,' etc. The commentator must have read 'atula' instead of 'atulam' and he explains it as the name of a pupil whom Gautama addressed by that name. This may be so (see note to verse 166), but 'atula' may also be taken in the sense of incomparable (Mahâbh xiii 1937) and in that case we ought to supply, with Professor Weber, some such word as 'saw' or 'saying'

now, a man who is always blamed, or a man who is always praised

229, 230

But he whom those who discriminate praise continually day after day, as without blemish, wise, rich in knowledge and virtue, who would dare to blame him, like a coin made of gold from the *Gambû* river? Even the gods praise him, he is praised even by Brahman

231

Beware of bodily anger, and control thy body! Leave the sins of the body, and with thy body practise virtue!

232

Beware of the anger of the tongue, and control thy tongue! Leave the sins of the tongue, and practise virtue with thy tongue!

233

Beware of the anger of the mind, and control thy mind! Leave the sins of the mind, and practise virtue with thy mind!

234

The wise who control their body, who control their tongue, the wise who control their mind, are indeed well controlled

(230) The Brahman worlds are higher than the Deva worlds as the Brahman is higher than a Deva, (see Hardy, 'Manual' p 25, Burnouf, Introduction, pp 134, 184)

CHAPTER XVIII.

IMPURITY.

235.

Thou art now like a scar leaf, the messengers of Death (Yama) have come near to thee; thou standest at the door of thy departure, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.

236.

Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt enter into the heavenly world of the Elect (Ariya).

237.

Thy life has come to an end, thou art come near to Death (Yama), there is no resting-place for thee

(235) 'Uyyoga' seems to mean 'departure' (See Buddha-ghosha's commentary on verse 152, p 319, l 1, Fausboll, 'Five Gatakas,' p 35)

(236) An 'island,' for a drowning man to save himself (See verse 25) 'Dīpaṃkara' is the name of one of the former Buddhas, and it is also used as an appellative of the Buddha

on the road, and thou hast no provision for thy journey

238

Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise ! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt not enter again into birth and decay

239

Let a wise man blow off the impurities of his soul, as a smith blows off the impurities of silver, one by one, little by little, and from time to time

240

Impurity arises from the iron, and, having arisen from it, it destroys it, thus do a transgressor's own works lead him to the evil path

241

The taint of prayers is non repetition, the taint of houses, non repair the taint of the body is sloth, the taint of a watchman thoughtlessness

242

Bad conduct is the taint of woman, greediness the taint of a benefactor, tainted are all evil ways, in this world and in the next

243

But there is a taint worse than all taints, ignorance is the greatest taint O mendicants ! throw off that taint, and become taintless !

244

Life is easy to live for a man who is without shame, a crow hero, a mischief-maker, an insulting, bold, and wretched fellow

245

But life is hard to live for a modest man, who always looks for what is pure, who is disinterested, quiet, spotless, and intelligent

246

He who destroys life, who speaks untruth, who takes in this world what is not given him, who takes another man's wife,

247

And the man who gives himself to drinking intoxicating liquors, he, even in this world, digs up his own root

248

O man, know this, that the unrestrained are in a bad state, take care that greediness and vice do not bring thee to grief for a long time !

(244) 'Pakkhandin' is identified by Dr Fausboll with 'pra skandin' one who jumps forward, insults or, as Buddhaghosha explains it, one who meddles with other people's business, an interloper. At all events it is a term of reproach, and, as it would seem, of theological reproach.

(246) On the five principal commandments which are recapitulated in verses 246 and 247, see Parables, p. 153.

(248) Cf. Mahābhārata, xii 4055, 'yeshāṃ vṛttis ka sam yatā' See also v. 307.

255

There is no path through the air, a man is not a
Sramana by outward acts No creatures are eternal,
 but the awakened (Buddha) are never shaken

(259) *Samkharā* for *samskāra* cf note to v 203

CHAPTER XIX.

THE JUST

256, 257.

A man is not a just judge if he carries a matter by violence; no, he who distinguishes both right and wrong, who is learned and leads others, not by violence, but by law and equity, he who is a guardian of the law and intelligent, he is called Just.

258.

A man is not learned because he talks much; he who is patient, free from hatred and fear, he is called learned.

259.

A man is not a supporter of the law because he talks much; even if a man has learnt little, but sees the law bodily, he is a supporter of the law, a man who never neglects the law.

(259) Buddhaghosha here takes law (*dhamma*) in the sense of the four great truths, see note to v 190. Could '*dhammam kāyena passati*' mean, he observes the law in his acts? Hardly, if we compare expressions like '*dhammam vipassato*,' v. 373

260

A man is not an elder because his head is grey, his age may be ripe, but he is called 'Old in vain'

261

He in whom there is truth, virtue, love, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise, he is called an 'Elder'

262

An envious, greedy, dishonest man does not become respectable by means of much talking only, or by the beauty of his complexion

263

He in whom all this is destroyed, taken out with the very root, he, freed from hatred and wise, is called 'Respectable'

264

Not by tonsure does an undisciplined man who speaks falsehood, become a *Sramana*, can a man be a *Sramana* who is still held captive by desire and greediness?

265

He who always quells the evil, whether small or large, he is called a *Sramana* (a quiet man), because he has quelled all evil

(260) This is a curious etymology because it shows that at the time when this verse was written the original meaning of *sramana* had been forgotten. *Sramana* meant originally in the language of the Brahmans a man who performed hard penances from *sram* to work hard etc. When it became the name

266

A man is not a mendicant (Bhikshu) simply because he asks others for alms, he who adopts the whole law is a Bhikshu, not he who only begs

267

He who is above good and evil, who is chaste, who with knowledge passes through the world, he indeed is called a Bhikshu

268, 269

A man is not a Muni because he observes silence (mona, *i e* mauna) if he is foolish and ignorant, but the wise who, taking the balance chooses the good and avoids evil, he is a 'Muni, and is a Muni' thereby, he who in this world weighs both sides is called a 'Muni'

270

A man is not an Elect (Ariya) because he injures living creatures, because he has pity on all living creatures, therefore is a man called 'Ariya'

of the Buddhist ascetics the language had changed and *sramana* was pronounced *samana*. Now there is another Sanskrit root *sam* to quiet which in Pāli becomes *l kewi s e sam* and from this root *sam* to quiet and not from *sram* to tread the popular etymology of the day and the writer of our verse derive the title of the Buddhist priests. The original form *sramana* became known to the Greeks as *Σαππαραί*, that of *samana* as *Σαπαραί* the former through Megasthenes the latter through Bardesanes 80-60 B.C. (See Lassen *Indische Alterthums kunde* : 700) The Chinese Shamen and the Tungus an Shamen come from the same source though the latter is sometimes doubted

(266-270, The etymologies here given of the ordinary titles of

271, 272

Not only by discipline and vows, not only by much learning, not by entering into a trance, not by sleeping alone, do I earn the happiness of release which no worldling can know. A Bhikshu receives confidence when he has reached the complete destruction of all desires !

the followers of Buddha are entirely fanciful and are curious only as showing how the people who spoke Pāli had lost the etymological consciousness of their language. A Bhikshu is a beggar i.e. a Buddhist friar who has left his family and lives entirely on alms.

Muni is a sage hence Sākya muni the name of Gautama. 'Muni' comes from man to think and from muni' comes 'mauna' silence. 'Ariya' again is the general name of those who embrace a religious life. It meant originally respectable noble. In v 270 it seems as if the writer wished to guard against deriving ariya from ari enemy. See note to v 22.

(272) The last line is obscure because the commentary is imperfect.

CHAPTER XX

THE WAY

273

The best of ways is the Eightfold, the best of truths the Four Words, the best of virtues passionlessness, the best of men he who has eyes to see

274

This is the way, there is no other that leads to the purifying of intelligence Go ye on this way ! Every thing else is the deceit of Mara (the tempter)

275

If you go on this way, you will make an end of pain !

(273) The eight-fold or eight membered way is the technical term for the way by which Nirvana is attained (See Burnouf Lotus 519) This very way constitutes the fourth of the Four Truths or the four words of truth viz Duḥkha pain Samudaya origin Nirodha destruction Marga road (Lotus p 517) See note to v 178 For another explanation of the Mārga or way see Hardy Eastern Monachism p 280

(275) The sālyas arrows or thorns are the sokasālyas the arrows of grief. Buddha himself is called mahasālyasartā, the great remover of thorns (Lalitavistara p 500 Mahabh x : 5616)

The way was preached by me, when I had understood
the removal of the thorns (in the flesh)

276

You yourself must make an effort The Tathagatas
(Buddhas) are only preachers The thoughtful who
enter the way are freed from the bondage of Mâra

277

'All created things perish,' he who knows and
sees this becomes passive in pain, this is the way to
purity

278

'All creatures are grief and pain,' he who knows
and sees this becomes passive in pain, this is the way
to purity

279

'All forms are unreal,' he who knows and sees this
becomes passive in pain, this is the way to purity

280

He who does not rise when it is time to rise, who,
though young and strong, is full of sloth, whose will
and thought are weak, that lazy and idle man will
never find the way to knowledge

281

Watching his speech, well restrained in mind, let

(277) See v 255

(278) See v 203

(279) Dhamma is here explained like *sankhara* as the five
khandhā : i. e. as what constitutes a living body

a man never commit any wrong with his body ! Let
 a man but keep these three roads of action clear, and
 he will achieve the way which is taught by the wise

282

Through zeal knowledge is gotten, through lack of
 zeal knowledge is lost, let a man who knows this
 double path of gain and loss thus place himself that
 knowledge may grow

283

Cut down the whole forest of lust, not the tree !
 From lust springs fear When you have cut down
 every tree and every shrub, then, Bhikshus, you will
 be free !

284

So long as the love of man towards women, even the
 smallest, is not destroyed, so long is his mind in bond-
 age, as the calf that drinks milk is to its mother

285

Cut out the love of self, like an autumn lotus, with
 thy hand ! Cherish the road of peace Nirvana
 has been shown by Sugata (Buddha)

286

Here I shall dwell in the rain, here in winter and

(282) Bhuri was rightly translated intelligentia by Dr
 Fausboll Dr Weber renders it by Gedeihen but the com-
 mentator distinctly explains it as 'vast knowledge and in the
 technical sense the word occurs after vidyâ and before mîdha
 in the 'Lalita Vistara' p 541

(283) A pun vîna' meaning both lust and forest

(286) Antarâya according to the commentator gavitânta

summer,' thus meditates the fool, and does not think of his death

287

Death comes and carries off that man, surrounded by children and flocks, his mind distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village

288

Sons are no help, nor a father, nor relations, there is no help from kinsfolk for one whom Death has seized

289

A wise and good man who knows the meaning of this, should quickly clear the way that leads to Nirvana

raya : e interitus death In Sanskrit antarita is used in the sense of vanished or perished

(287) See notes to v 47 and cf Mahābh xii 9944 6540

CHAPTER XXI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

290.

If by leaving a small pleasure one sees a great pleasure, let a wise man leave the small pleasure, and look to the great.

291.

He who, by causing pain to others, wishes to obtain pleasure himself, he, entangled in the bonds of hatred, will never be free from hatred

292.

What ought to be done is neglected, what ought not to be done is done; the sins of unruly, thoughtless people are always increasing.

293.

But they whose whole watchfulness is always directed to their body, who do not follow what ought not to be done, and who steadfastly do what ought to be done, the sins of such watchful and wise people will come to an end

294

A true Brâhmana, though he has killed father and mother, and two valiant kings, though he has destroyed a kingdom with all its subjects, is free from guilt

295

A true Brâhmana, though he has killed father and mother, and two holy kings, and even a fifth man, is free from guilt

296

The disciples of Gotama (Buddha) are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on Buddha

297

The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the Law

298

The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the Church

299

The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on their body

(294-299) These two verses are either meant to show that a truly holy man who by accident commits all these crimes is guiltless or they refer to some particular event in Buddha's history. The commentator is so startled that he explains them allegorically. The meaning of *veyyaggha* I do not understand.

300.

The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in compassion.

301.

The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in meditation.

302

The hard parting, the hard living alone, the uninhabitable houses are painful; painful is the company with men who are not our equals, subject to pain are the travelling friars; therefore let no man be a travelling friar, and he will not be subject to pain.

(302) Unless this verse formed part of a miscellaneous chapter, I should hardly have ventured to translate it as I have. If the verse means anything, it means that parting with one's friends, living in the wilderness, or in wretched hovels, or travelling about from place to place, homeless and dependent on casual charity, is nothing but pain and grief, and, we should say, according to the author's opinion, useless. In other verses, on the contrary, this very life, this parting with all one holds dear, living in solitude, and depending on alms, is represented as the only course that can lead a man to wisdom, peace, and Nirvâna. Such contradictions, strange as they sound, are not uncommon in the literature of the Brahmans. Here too, works are frequently represented as indispensable to salvation, and yet, in other places, and from a higher point of view, these very works are condemned as useless, nay, even as a hindrance in a man's progress to real perfection. It is possible that the same view found advocates even in the early days of Buddhism and that, though performing the ordinary duties, and enjoying the ordinary pleasures of life, a man might consider that he was a truer disciple of Buddha than the dreamy inhabitant of a Vihâra, or the mendicant friar who every morning

303

Whatever place a faithful, virtuous, celebrated, and wealthy man chooses, there he is respected

304

Good people shine from afar, like the snowy mountains, bad people are not seen, like arrows shot by night

305

He who, without ceasing, practises the duty of eating alone and sleeping alone, he, subduing himself, alone will rejoice in the destruction of all desires, as if living in a forest

called for alms at the layman's door (cf v 141 142) The next verse confirms the view which I have taken

Should it not be *asamānasamvaso* i.e. living with people who are not one's equals which was the case in the Buddhist communities and must have been much against the grain of the Hindus accustomed as they were to live always among themselves among their own relations their own profession their own caste? Living with his superiors is equally disagreeable to a Hindu as living with his inferiors. *Asamāma* unequal might easily be mistaken for *samāma* proud

(305) I have translated this verse so as to bring it into some thing like harmony with the preceding verses. *Vanānte* according to a pun pointed out before (v 283) means both in the end of a forest and in the end of desires

CHAPTER XXII

THE DOWNWARD COURSE

306

He who says what is not, goes to hell, he also who, having done a thing says I have not done it. After death both are equal, they are men with evil deeds in the next world.

307

Many men whose shoulders are covered with the orange gown are ill conditioned and unrestrained, such evil doers by their evil deeds go to hell.

308

Better it would be to swallow a heated iron ball,

(306) I translate *niraya* the exit the downward course the evil path by Hell because the meaning assigned to that ancient mythological name by Christian writers comes so near to the Buddhist idea of *niraya* that it is difficult not to believe in some actual contact between these two streams of thought. (See also *Mahāvibh.* at 7176) *Abhiṭṭavādīna* is mentioned as a name of Buddha, *sarvasaṃskārapratizuddhātṛ* (Lal Vist p 50)

like flaring fire, than that a bad unrestrained fellow
should live on the charity of the land

309

Four things does a reckless man gain who covets
his neighbour's wife,—a bad reputation, an uncomfort-
able bed, thirdly, punishment, and lastly, hell.

310

There is bad reputation, and the evil way (to hell);
there is the short pleasure of the frightened in the
arms of the frightened, and the king imposes heavy
punishment, therefore let no man think of his neigh-
bour's wife

311.

As a grass-blade, if badly grasped, cuts the arm,
badly-practised asceticism leads to hell

312

An act carelessly performed, a broken vow, and
hesitating obedience to discipline, all this brings no
great reward

(308) The charity of the land* is the alms given from a sense
of religious duty, to every mendicant that asks for it

(309-10) The four things mentioned in verse 309 seem to be
repeated in verse 310. Therefore *apuhālabhā* bad fame, is
the same in both. *gati pāṭikā* must be *miraya*, 'dandā' must
be 'nindā, and 'raṭṭi thokikā' explains the 'anikāma-seyyam'.
Buddhisogosa takes the same view of the meaning of 'anikāma-
seyya' i.e. *vaṭṭi āḷḷhātī evaṃ seyyam ālabhātā anilāḷḷitam*
parittakam eva kālāṃ seyyam labhātī not obtaining the rest as
he wishes it he obtains it as he does not wish it, i.e. for a short
time only

313.

If anything is to be done, let a man do it, let him attack it vigorously ! A careless pilgrim only scatters the dust of his passions more widely.

314.

An evil deed is better left undone, for a man repents of it afterwards ; a good deed is better done, for having done it, one does not repent.

315.

Like a well-guarded frontier fort, with defences within and without, so let a man guard himself. Not a moment should escape, for they who allow the right moment to pass, suffer pain when they are in hell.

316.

They who are ashamed of what they ought not to be ashamed of, and are not ashamed of what they ought to be ashamed of, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

317.

They who fear when they ought not to fear, and fear not when they ought to fear, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

318.

They who forbid when there is nothing to be forbidden, and forbid not when there is something to be

(313) As to 'raga' meaning 'dust' and 'passion,' see 'Parables,' pp 65 and 66

forbidden, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path

319

They who know what is forbidden as forbidden, and what is not forbidden as not forbidden, such men, embracing the true doctrine, enter the good path

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ELEPHANT

320

Silently shall I endure abuse as the elephant in battle endures the arrow sent from the bow for the world is ill natured

321

A tamed elephant they lead to battle, the king mounts a tamed elephant, the tamed is the best among men, he who silently endures abuse

322

Mules are good, if tamed, and noble Sindhu horses, and elephants with large tusks, but he who tames himself is better still

(320) The elephant is with the Buddhists the emblem of endurance and self restraint. Thus Buddha himself is called Naga the Elephant (Lal Vist p 503) or Mahánaga the great Elephant (Lal Vist p 503) and in one passage (Lal Vist p 551) the reason of this name is given by stating that Puddha was sudanta well tamed like an elephant.

Cf Manu vi. 47, ativādāms titikṣaḥ etc.'

323

For with these animals does no man reach the untrodden country (Nirvâna), where a tamed man goes on a tamed animal, viz on his own well tamed self

324

The elephant called Dhamapālaka, his temples running with sap, and difficult to hold, does not eat a morsel when bound, the elephant longs for the elephant grove

325

If a man becomes fat and a great eater, if he is sleepy and rolls himself about, that fool, like a hog fed on wash, is born again and again

326

This mind of mine went formerly wandering about

(323) I read as suggested by Dr Fausboll *yath attanā sudantena danto dantena gaḷḷhati* (Cf v 160) The Inda Office MS reads *na hi etehi thaneli gaḷḷheya agatam dīyam yath attānam sudantena danto dantena gaḷḷhati* As to *thāneli* instead of *yāneli* see v 224

(326) *Yoniso* is rendered by Dr Fausboll sapient but the reference which he gives to Hemastandra (ed Boettlingk and Reu p 281) shows clearly that it meant origin or cause. *Yoniso* occurs frequently as a mere adverb meaning thoroughly radically (Dhammap p 309) and *yoniso anasāra* (Dhammap p 110) means taking to heart or minding thoroughly. In the Lal Vist p 11 the commentator has clearly mistaken *yonisā* changing it to *yeuṣo* and explaining it by *yajati sam* whereas M Foucaux has rightly translated it by *déjà s'origine*. Prof. Weber imagines he has discovered in *yonisā* a double *entente* but even grammar would show that our author is innocent of it.

as it liked, as it listed, as it pleased, but I shall now hold it in thoroughly, as the rider who holds the hook holds in the furious elephant

327

Be not thoughtless, watch your thoughts! Draw yourself out of the evil way, like an elephant sunk in mud

328

If a man find a prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, he may walk with him, overcoming all dangers, happy, but considerate

329

If a man find no prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, let him walk alone, like a king who has left his conquered country behind,—like a lonely elephant

330

It is better to live alone, there is no companionship with a fool, let a man walk alone, let him commit no sin, with few wishes, like the lonely elephant

331

If an occasion arises, friends are pleasant, enjoyment is pleasant if it is mutual, a good work is pleasant in the hour of death, the giving up of all grief is pleasant

332

Pleasant is the state of a mother, pleasant the state

(332) The commentator throughout takes these words like

of a father, pleasant the state of a *Sramana*, pleasant the state of a *Brahmana*

333

Pleasant is virtue lasting to old age, pleasant is a faith firmly rooted, pleasant is attainment of intelligence, pleasant is avoiding of sins

matteyyata etc to signify not the status of a mother or maternity but reverence shown to a mother

CHAPTER XXIV

THIRST

334

The thirst of a thoughtless man grows like a creeper, he runs hither and thither, like a monkey seeking fruit in the forest

335

Whom this fierce thirst overcomes, full of poison, in this world, his sufferings increase like the abounding Birana grass

336

He who overcomes this fierce thirst, difficult to be conquered in this world, sufferings fall off from him, like water drops from a lotus leaf.

337

This salutary word I tell you, as many as are here come together 'Dig up the root of thirst, as he who wants the sweet scented Usira root must dig up the Birana grass, that Mara (the tempter) may not

(335) Virana grass is the *Andropogon muricatum* and the scented root of it is called usira (cf v 337)

crush you again and again, as the stream crushes the reeds'

338

As a tree is firm as long as its root is safe, and grows again even though it has been cut down, thus, unless the yearnings of thirst are destroyed, this pain (of life) will return again and again

339

He whose desire for pleasure runs strong in the thirty-six channels, the waves will carry away that misguided man, viz his desires which are set on passion

340

The channels run everywhere, the creeper (of passion) stands sprouting, if you see the creeper springing up, cut its root by means of knowledge

341

A creature's pleasures are extravagant and luxurious, sunk in lust and looking for pleasure, men undergo (again and again) birth and decay

342

Men, driven on by thirst, run about like a snared

(338) On Anusaya's see anusaya, see Wassiljew, 'Der Buddhismus' p 240 seq

(339) The thirty six channels, or passions which are divided by the commentator into eighteen external and eighteen internal are explained by Burnouf (Lotus, p 649) from a gloss of the 'Gīṇaśālikāra'. L'indication précise des affections dont un Buddha acte indépendant affections qui sont au nombre de dix huit nous est fournie par la glose d'un livre appartenant aux Buddhistes de Ceylan etc

'Vābā, which Dr Frisboll translates by 'equi may be vābā undā

hare, held in fetters and bonds, they undergo pain for a long time, again and again

343

Men, driven on by thirst, run about like a snared hare, let therefore the mendicant who desires passionlessness for himself, drive out thirst !

344

He who in a country without forests (*i e* after having reached Nirvana) gives himself over to forest life (*i e* to lust), and who, when removed from the forest (*i e* from lust), runs to the forest (*i e* to lust), look at that man ! *though free, he runs into bondage*

345

Wise people do not call that a strong fetter which is made of iron, wood, or hemp, far stronger is the care for precious stones and ~~things~~ ^{sons}, for sons and a wife

346

That fetter do wise people call strong which drags down, yields, but is difficult to undo, after having cut this at last, people enter upon their pilgrimage, free from cares, and leaving desires and pleasures behind

(344) This verse seems again full of puns all connected with the twofold meaning of vana forest and lust. By replacing forest by lust we may translate: He who when free from lust gives himself up to lust who when removed from lust runs into lust look at that man etc. Nibbana though with a short a may be intended to remind the hearer of Nibbana.

(345) Apekha, apeksa care see Manu vi 41 49

(346) Paribbaga *i e* parivrag see Manu vi 41

347

Those who are slaves to passions, run up and down the stream (of desires) as a spider runs up and down the web which he has made himself, when they have cut this, people enter upon their pilgrimage, free from cares, leaving desires and pleasures behind

348

Give up what is before, give up what is behind, give up what is in the middle, when thou goest to the other shore of existence, if thy mind is altogether free, thou wilt not again enter into birth and decay

349

If a man is tossed about by doubts, full of strong passions, and yearning only for what is delightful, his thirst will grow more and more, and he will in deed make his fetters strong

350

If a man delights in quieting doubts, and, always reflecting, dwells on what is not delightful, he certainly will remove, nay, he will cut the fetter of Mara

351

He who has obtained rest, who does not tremble,

(347) The commentator explains the simile of the spider as follows. As a spider after having made its thread web sits in the middle or the centre and after killing with a violent rush a butterfly or a fly which has fallen in its circle drinks its juice returns and sits again in the same place in the same manner creatures who are given to passions depraved by hatred and maddened by wrath run along the stream of thirst which they have made them selves and cannot cross it etc

who is without thirst and without blemish, he has broken all the thorns of life this will be his last body

352

He who is without thirst and without affection, who understands the words and their interpretation, who knows the order of letters (those which are before and which are after), he has received his last body, he is called the great sage, the great man

353

'I have conquered all, I know all, in all conditions of life I am free from taint, I have left all, and through the destruction of thirst I am free, having learnt myself, whom shall I teach ?

354

The gift of the law exceeds all gifts, the sweetness of the law exceeds all sweetness, the delight in the law exceeds all delights, the extinction of thirst overcomes all pain

355

Pleasures destroy the foolish if they look not for the other shore, the foolish by his thirst for pleasures destroys himself as if he were his own enemy

(352) As to *ṇ rutti* and its technical meaning among the Buddhists see Burnouf Lotus p 841 Fausboll translates *ṇ rutti* vocabulorum peritus which may be right Could not *sannipata* mean *samī tā* or *sann kara* ? *Sannipata* occurs in the *Sakala prāṭisākhya* but with a different meaning

(354) The *dhammadāna* or gift of the law is the technical term for instruction in the Buddhist religion (See Parables p 160 where the story of the *Sakkadevīraṇa* is told and where a free rendering of our verse is given)

356

The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by passion therefore a gift bestowed on the passionless brings great reward

357

The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by hatred therefore a gift bestowed on those who do not hate brings great reward

358

The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by vanity therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from vanity brings great reward

359

The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by wishing therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from wishes brings great reward

CHAPTER XXV.

THE BHIKSHU (MENDICANT)

360

Restraint in the eye is good, good is restraint in the ear, in the nose restraint is good, good is restraint in the tongue.

361.

In the body restraint is good, good is restraint in speech, in thought restraint is good, good is restraint in all things. A Bhikshu, restrained in all things, is freed from all pain

362.

He who controls his hand, he who controls his feet,

(362) 'Agghattarata,' i. e. 'adhyátmarata,' is an expression which we may take in its natural sense, in which case it would simply mean, delighting inwardly. But 'adhyátmarata' has a technical sense in Sanskrit and with the Brahmans. They use it in the sense of delighting in the Adhyátman, i. e. the Supreme Self, or Brahman. (See 'Manu,' vi 49, and Kullûka's commentary. As the Buddhists do not recognize a Supreme Self or Brahman, they cannot use the word in its Prahmanical sense, and thus we find that Buddhaghôsha explains it as "delighting in meditation on the Kammassthâna, a Buddhist formula, whether externally or internally." I am not certain of the exact mean-

he who controls his speech, he who is well controlled,
he who delights inwardly, who is collected, who is
solitary and content, him they call Bhikshu

363

The Bhikshu who controls his mouth, who speaks
wisely and calmly, who teaches the meaning and the
Law, his word is sweet

364

He who dwells in the Law, delights in the Law,
meditates on the Law, follows the Law, that Bhikshu
will never fall away from the true Law

365

Let him not despise what he has received, nor ever
envy others a mendicant who envies others does not
obtain peace of mind

366

A Bhikshu who, though he receives little, does not

ing of Buddhaghosha's words but whatever they mean it is quite clear that he does not take *adhyātma-rata* in the Brahmanical sense. The question then arises who used the term first and who borrowed it and here it would seem considering the intelligible growth of the word in the philosophical systems of the Brahmins, that the priority belongs for once to the Brahmins.

(363) On *artha* and '*dharma*' see Stanislas Julien *Les Avadānas* i 217 note. Les quatre connaissances sont 1° la connaissance du sens (*artha*) 2° la connaissance de la Loi (*dharma*), 3° la connaissance des explications (*nirukti*) 4° la connaissance de l'intelligence (*prātibhāna*)

(364) The expression *dhammāramo* having his garden or delight (Lustgarten) in the Law is well matched by the Brahmanic expression *ekārāma* i.e. *nirdvandva* (Mahabh xiii 1930)

despise what he has received, even the gods will praise him, if his life is pure, and if he is not slothful

367

He who never identifies himself with his body and soul, and does not grieve over what is no more, he in deed is called a Bhikshu

368

The Bhikshu who acts with kindness, who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha, will reach the quiet place (Nirvâna), cessation of natural desires, and happiness

369

O Bhikshu, empty this boat ! if emptied, it will go quickly, having cut off passion and hatred, thou wilt go to Nirvâna

370

Cut off the five (senses), leave the five, rise above the five ? A Bhikshu, who has escaped from the five fetters, he is called Oghatinna, "Saved from the flood "

371

Meditate, O Bhikshu, and be not heedless ! Do not direct thy thought to what gives pleasure ! that

(367) Nâmarupa is here used again in its technical sense of body and soul neither of which is âtman or self 'Asat what is not may therefore mean the same as nâmarupa or we may take it in the sense of what is no more as for instance, the beauty or youth of the body the vigour of the mind etc

(371) The swallowing of hot iron balls is considered as a punishment in hell see v 308 Professor Weber has perceived

thou mayest not for thy heedlessness have to swallow the iron ball (in hell), and that thou mayest not cry out when burning, "This is pain "

372

Without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto Nirvana

373

A Bhikshu who has entered his empty house, and whose mind is tranquil, feels a more than human delight when he sees the law clearly

374

As soon as he has considered the origin and destruction of the elements (khandha) of the body, he finds happiness and joy which belong to those who know the immortal (Nirvana)

375

And this is the beginning here for a wise Bhikshu watchfulness over the senses, contentedness, restraint under the Law, keep noble friends whose life is pure, and who are not slothful

376

Let him live in charity, let him be perfect in his duties, then in the fulness of delight he will make an end of suffering

the right meaning of bhavassu which can only be 'bhāvayasva' but I doubt whether the rest of his rendering is right Do not swallow by accident an iron ball

377.

As the Vassikâ-plant sheds its withered flowers,
men should shed passion and hatred, O ye Bhikshus !

378.

The Bhikshu whose body and tongue and mind
are quieted, who is collected, and has rejected the
baits of the world, he is called Quiet.

379.

Rouse thyself by thyself, examine thyself by thy-
self, thus self-protected and attentive wilt thou live
happily, O Bhikshu !

380.

For self is the lord of self, self is the refuge of self;
therefore curb thyself as the merchant curbs a good
horse.

381.

The Bhikshu, full of delight, who is calm in the
doctrine of Buddha will reach the quiet place (*Nir-
vâna*), cessation of natural desires, and happiness.

382.

He who, even as a young Bhikshu, applies himself
to the doctrine of Buddha, brightens up this world,
like the moon when free from clouds.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BRÂHMANA

383

Stop the stream valiantly, drive away the desires,
O Brâhmana! When you have understood the de-
struction of all that was made, you will understand
that which was not made

384

If the Brahmana has reached the other shore
in both laws (in restraint and contemplation), all
bonds vanish from him who has obtained know-
ledge

385

He for whom there is neither this nor that shore,
nor both, him, the fearless and unshackled, I call in-
deed a Brahmana

386

He who is thoughtful, blameless, settled, dutiful,

(385) The exact meaning of the two shores is not quite clear
and the commentator who takes them in the sense of internal and
external organs of sense can hardly be right See v 86

without passions, and who has attained the highest end, him I call indeed a Brâhmana.

387.

The sun is bright by day, the moon shines by night, the warrior is bright in his armour, the Brâhmana is bright in his meditation; but Buddha, the Awakened, is bright with splendour day and night.

388.

Because a man is rid of evil, therefore he is called Brâhmana; because he walks quietly, therefore he is called Sramana; because he has sent away his own impurities, therefore he is called Pravrajita (a pilgrim).

389.

No one should attack a Brâhmana, but no Brâhmana (if attacked) should let himself fly at his aggressor! Woe to him who strikes a Brâhmana, more woe to him who flies at his aggressor!

390.

It advantages a Brâhmana not a little if he holds his mind back from the pleasures of life; when all wish to injure has vanished, pain will cease.

(388.) These would-be etymologies are again interesting as showing the decline of the etymological life of the spoken language of India at the time when such etymologies became possible. In order to derive 'Brâhmana' from 'vâh,' it must have been pronounced 'bâhmano; 'vâh,' to remove, occurs frequently in the Buddhistical Sanskrit. (Cf. Lal. Vist. p. 551, l 1; 553, l 7 See note to verse 265.)

(390.) I am afraid I have taken too much liberty with this verse. Dr. Fausbøll translates 'Non Brâhmanæ hoc paulo me-

391

Him I call indeed a Brahmana who does not offend by body, word, or thought, and is controlled on these three points

392

After a man has once understood the Law as taught by the Well awakened (Buddha), let him worship it carefully, as the Brahmana worships the sacrificial fire

393

A man does not become a Brahmana by his platted hair by his family, or by both, in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brahmana

394

What is the use of platted hair, O fool! what of the raiment of goatskins? Within thee there is ravening but the outside thou makest clean

395

The man who wears dirty raiments, who is emaciated and covered with veins, who lives alone in the forest, and meditates him I call indeed a Brahmana

Ius quando retent o fit mentis a jucund s In the second verse he translates *himsamano* or *hmsamano* by *violenta mens* Dr Weber by *der Geist der Schadsucht* Might it be *hms yamazak* injured and *nivattati* he is quiet patient? Ah *msa manah* would be with the Buddhists the spirit of love (Luke xi 39)

(391) I have not copied the language of the Bible more than I was justified in The words are *abbhantaran te gahanam baliram parimaggam interna est abyssus externum mundas*

(395) The expression *Kisan dhaman santatani* is the San

396.

I do not call a man a Brâhmana because of his origin or of his mother. He may be called "Sir," and may be wealthy: but the poor, who is free from all attachments, him I call indeed a Brâhmana.

397.

He who has cut all fetters, and who never trembles, he who is independent and unshackled, him I call indeed a Brâhmana.

398.

He who has cut the girdle and the strap, the rope with all that pertains to it, he who has burst the bar, and is awakened, him I call indeed a Brâhmana.

399.

He who, though he has committed no offence, endures reproach, bonds, and stripes, him, strong in endurance and powerful, I call indeed a Brâhmana.

400.

He who is free from anger, dutiful, virtuous, without weakness, and subdued, who has received his last body, him I call indeed a Brâhmana.

sanskrit 'krīṣaṁ dhamanīśantatam,' the frequent occurrence of which in the Mahābhārata has been pointed out by Boehtlingk, & dhamanī. It looks more like a Brâhmanic than like a Buddhist phrase.

(399) The exact meaning of 'balānika' is difficult to find. Does it mean, possessed of a strong army, or facing a force, or leading a force? The commentary alone could help us to decide

401

He who does not cling to pleasures, like water on a lotus leaf, like a mustard seed on the point of an awl, him I call indeed a Brahmana

402

He who, even here, knows the end of his suffering has put down his burden, and is unshackled, him I call indeed a Brahmana.

403

He whose knowledge is deep who possesses wisdom, who knows the right way and the wrong, who has attained the highest end him I call indeed a Brahmana

404

He who keeps aloof both from laymen and from mendicants, goes to no house to beg, and whose desires are small, him I call indeed a Brahmana

405

He who finds no fault with other beings, whether

(404) Anokasāri is translated by Dr Fausboll sine domo l o grassantem by Dr Weber ohne Heim wandelt The commentator seems to support my translation He says that a man who has no intercourse either with householders or with those who have left the r houses but may still dwell together in retirement from the world is anālayakara i e a man who goes to nobody s abode in order to see to hear to talk or to eat He then explains anokasārī by the same word anālayakārīn i e a man who goes to nobody s residence for any purpose—and in our case I suppose principally not for the purpose of begging

weak or strong, who does not kill nor cause slaughter,
him I call indeed a Brâhmana

406

He who is tolerant with the intolerant, mild with
fault-finders, free from passion among the passionate,
him I call indeed a Brâhmana

407

He from whom anger and hatred, pride and envy
have dropt like a mustard seed from the point of an
awl, him I call indeed a Brâhmana

408

He who utters true speech, instructive and free from
harshness, so that he offend no one, him I call indeed
a Brâhmana

409

He who takes nothing in the world that is not given
him, be it long or short, small or large, good or bad,
him I call indeed a Brâhmana

410

He who fosters no desires for this world or for the
next, has no inclinations, and is unshackled, him I
call indeed a Brâhmana

411

He who has no interests, and when he has under-

(411) 'Akataṃkathā' is explained by Buddhaghosha as mean-
ing free from doubt or hesitation. He also uses 'kathamkathā

stood (the truth), does not say *How, how?*—he who can dive into the Immortal, him I call indeed a Brahmana

412

He who is above good and evil above the bondage of both free from grief, from sin, from impurity, him I call indeed a Brahmana

413

He who is bright like the moon pure, serene, and undisturbed in whom all gaiety is extinct, him I call indeed a Brahmana

414

He who has traversed this mazy, impervious world and its vanity, who is through, and has reached the other shore is thoughtful, guileless, free from doubts, free from attachment, and content, him I call indeed a Brahmana

415

He who, leaving all desires, travels about without a

in the sense of doubt (verse 414) In the *Kāryādarsa* 1: 17 the commentator explains *akatham* by *kathārah tam n rvaṁ dam* which would mean without a *kathā* a speech a story without contradiction unconditionally From our passage however it seems as if *kathamkathā* was a noun derived from *kathamkatlayat* to say *How how?* so that neither the first nor the second element had anything to do with *kath* to relate and in that case *akatham* too ought to be taken in the sense of without a *Why*

(41) See verse 39 The distinction between good and evil vanishes when a man has retired from the world and has ceased to act long only for deliverance

home, in whom all concupiscence is extinct, him I call indeed a Brâhmana

416

He who, leaving all longings, travels about without a home, in whom all covetousness is extinct, him I call indeed a Brâhmana

417

He who, after leaving all bondage to men, has risen above all bondage to the gods, who is free from every bondage, him I call indeed a Brâhmana.

418

He who has left what gives pleasure and what gives pain, is cold, and free from all germs (of renewed life), the hero who has conquered all the worlds, him I call indeed a Brâhmana

419

He who knows the destruction and the return of creatures everywhere, who is free from bondage, well faring (Sugata), and awakened (Buddha), him I call indeed a Brahmana

420

He whose way the gods do not know, nor spirits (Gandharvas), nor men, and whose passions are extinct, him, the venerable, I call indeed a Brahmana

421

He who calls nothing his own, whether it be before, behind, or between, who is poor, and free from the love of the world, him I call indeed a Brâhmana

422

The manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the guileless, the master, the awakened, him I call indeed a Brâhmana

423

He who knows his former abodes, who sees heaven and hell, has reached the end of births, is perfect in knowledge and a sage, he whose perfections are all perfect, him I call indeed a Brâhmana

PREFACE

(BY CAPTAIN ROGERS)

TO THE

TRANSLATION OF BUDDHAGHOSHA'S PARABLES.



THE following translation of the Burmese version of the Parables of Buddhaghosha has been made from a work entitled, the *Dhamma-Pada-Vatthu*, or 'Stories about the *Dhamma Pada*.' In the translation I have followed the printed text of Latter's '*Selections from the Vernacular Buddhist Literature of Burmah*,' collating it with a palm-leaf manuscript of the same work in the East-India Office library. The collating, however, has been of but little use, for though the two copies are in most parts identical or nearly so, yet in the obscure passages they almost invariably differ considerably, and one is rarely more intelligible than the other. Any sensible variation between the manuscript and the printed text will be found in the foot-notes. I have also marked those few passages which their impenetrable obscurity has compelled me to omit.

The difficulties under which a translator labours, owing to the careless transcribing of the native copyists, is well exemplified in the English translation of 'The Decisions of Princess Thudamasāri,' by the late Col Sparks, another portion of Latter's 'Selections,' and a very amusing collection of stories, where the numerous emendations of the text, which the translator was compelled to make, are marked in the notes

Although I have paraphrased as decently as possible many of the expressions employed in the original, yet the Oriental ideas of propriety are so different from those of Western nations that I found myself altogether unable, without completely sacrificing the sense, to do more than slightly tone down some of the passages

I have to acknowledge the great advantage I have derived from collating my own translation with a close and very accurate translation of the same work by Captain Sheffield Grace, of H M 68th Regiment, which Professor Max Muller forwarded to me while I was revising my manuscript for the press

H T R

BUDDHAGHOSHA'S PARABLES.

I worship the Adorable who is worthy of all homage,
who is radiant with the six glories, and the possessor
of all wisdom

CHAPTER I

STORY OF KAKKHUPALA MAHATHERA

THE most excellent Parī¹ brilliant in his glory, free
from all ignorance beholding Nibbāna² the end of the
migration of the soul, lighted the lamp of the law of
the good

This law he preached during his residence at the
Getavana monastery in the Savatthi country, illus-
trating it by an account of the Mahathera³ Kakkhupala

At a former time there lived in the Savatthi country
a Thugyue⁴ named Maha svanna This Thugyue went
out one day to bathe, on the road he saw a banyan

¹ The Lord or Master i.e. Gotama the founder of the
Buddhist religion

² Nibbāna is the last and unchangeable state of the soul in which
it is never more subject to transmigration—the heaven of the
Burmese Buddhists

³ Mahathera means among the Burmese a Buddhist priest of
ten years standing or more but here it signifies a distinguished
disciple of Gotama

⁴ The wealthy class

tree, thinking that there must dwell there a Nat¹ of great power, he cleared the space at the foot of the tree, made an offering of a flag,² a lighted lamp, flowers and perfumes, and prayed "My lord Nat, if you will give me a son or a daughter, I will make you large offerings," then he returned home

At that very time the Thugyue's wife became pregnant, and the Thugyue was delighted After ten months,³ a son was born, to whom he gave the name of Mahapala, because he had obtained him through his prayers to the Nat After this another son was born, who received the name of Kulla-pala These two sons, when they reached years of maturity, both married

At this time Para Taken⁴ was preaching the law to the assembly in the Getavana monastery, and Mahapala, after listening to his discourse, became fearful about his future state, and asked Para Taken for permission to become a Rahan⁵ Para Taken said, "If there is any one whose leave you should ask, go first and do so" Mahapala accordingly sought the leave of his younger brother, Kulla-pala, but Kulla-pala objected, saying, "Our parents are both dead, and I now look on you as my father and mother, do not become a Rahan, but stay at home and make offerings Mahapala, however, would not listen to his brother's objections, but delivered over to him a large amount of property, and then leaving him, went to Parā Taken and became a Rahan

¹ A being of an order superior to man

² A streamer of cloth often fastened to a tree as an offering to the Nat supposed to reside there

³ Lunar months alone are employed by the Burmese in calculations of time

⁴ The Lord and Master i.e. Gotama

⁵ A Buddhist priest

After he had become a Pan/īnga,¹ and had passed five lents² with the teacher Upagghīya, he said to Parī Taken, "My lord and master, what are the duties of a priest, according to the divine system?" Parī Taken said, "Mahāpāla, my divine system consists of Gandha dhūra and Vipassana dhūra, these two." Mahāpāla said, "Lord and master, what is Gandha dhūra? and what is Vipassana dhūra?" Parī Taken replied, "Gandha dhūra means knowing by heart the three books of the Pīṭaka³ in the Pāli language,

Vipassanā dhūra means, repeating the *Kammattāna*¹ and the *Bhavana*² Mahāpala said, "Lord and master, I have entered the priesthood at too advanced an age to require the *Gandha dhura*, give me the *Vipassana dhura*" Para Taken gave him the *Kammattāna*, which has the power of making a man a *Rahanda*³ Mahāpala, after performing the *Pavarana*,⁴ made his obeisance to Para Taken, and went away with sixty *Rahans* to a place distant 120 *yoganas*⁵ from the *Sivatthi* country Depending for subsistence on a neighbouring village, he took up his residence in a forest, where he occupied himself in repeating the *Kammattāna* The people of the village felt kindly towards them, and offered them boiled rice,⁶ and Mahāpala and the sixty *Rahans* received daily alms of food in the village⁷

One day, a doctor in the village made a respectful request to them, that if ever they had need of medi-

¹ Short sentences for repetition

² The same but shorter

³ An *Arinya* of the highest order An *Arinya* is one who will attain *Nibbana* at the close of his present life

⁴ Confession made by one priest to another

⁵ A *yogana* is thirteen and a half English miles

⁶ Buddhist priests receive all their food cooked from the pious laymen on whom they are entirely dependent for their subsistence Nothing is cooked in the monasteries

⁷ It is the custom of the Burmese priests to go out every morning about eight o'clock to collect food for the day At this hour in every town or village where there is a monastery may be seen a long file of priests with their bright yellow clothes and shaven and uncovered heads walking slowly and solemnly along with their eyes fixed upon the ground looking neither to right nor left and keeping a rigid silence each man carrying his *thabet* into which the people from the houses as the procession passes come and pour food principally boiled rice

that very day, exactly at midnight, he became a Rahanda, but he lost the sight of both eyes

From this time Mahapala confined himself to the precincts of the monastery. When the Rahans next morning told him that it was time to go and collect the food, he said to them, "My sight is gone, go by yourselves and collect it." When the Rahans saw his blindness they wept bitterly, and said to him, "My Lord, have no anxiety, we will feed and tend you," then they went into the village to collect food. When the villagers saw that Mahapala was not with them, and on inquiry learned that he was blind, they greatly pitied him and sent him many dainties.

Kakkhupala¹ continued to instruct the sixty Rahans, and these, giving their whole hearts to his teaching, arrived at the stage of a Rahanda. When Lent was over the Rahans expressed a wish to go and contemplate Parā Taken, Kakkhupala said to them, "Go, but I am infirm and blind and must remain behind. When you arrive there tell my younger brother Kullāpala of my condition. If he will conduct me I shall be able to go."

When the Rahans arrived they contemplated Parā Taken and the two chief disciples². On the following day early in the morning the Rahans went to collect food at the house of Kullāpala, when he saw them and found his brother was not with them, he asked after him. The Rahans told him how he was blind of both eyes, and how he had said that he could not come

¹ Mahapala's name is here changed to Kakkhupala in reference to his blindness. Kakkhū = earing eye.

² Sarjutta the right-hand disciple and Moggallāna the left hand disciple.

unless his brother would conduct him. When Kullapāla heard this, he wept aloud, and making his nephew Pālita enter the priesthood, he sent him back with the Rahans. The novice as soon as he reached the residence of Kakkhupāla, presented some food to him, saying, "I have brought this from your younger brother Kulla-pāla." Kakkhupāla asked him who he was, and hearing he was his nephew, said "Very good," and giving him the end of his staff to guide him, set out on his journey.

As they were travelling in a thick forest, the novice Pālita, hearing the voice of a woman who was engaged in collecting fuel, and was singing very prettily over her task, said to Kakkhupāla, "My Lord, wait here for one moment, I will be back with you directly." The novice then went away, and introducing himself to the young woman, spent a considerable time in her society. Kakkhupāla finding the novice did not return, and suddenly recollecting that he had heard a woman singing, came to the conclusion that the novice had failed in his duty.¹

When the novice returned after his interview with the damsel, he said, "My Lord, let us proceed," and offered to take the end of the staff; but the Rahanda said, "One who has been guilty of a vile action must not touch the end of my staff." The novice trembled and was silent. then assuming the garment of a layman, he again approached him and said, "I have become a layman; it was from no inclination for its duties that I entered the priesthood, but only from fear of the dangers of the journey; now let us proceed. But Kakkhupāla said, "Though you have gone back to

¹ The Buddhist priesthood are devoted to celibacy

the laity, you are not fit to be my companion, I will not go with you" Then Palita urged, "Do not remain here, my Lord¹ for there are Bilus¹ and all sorts of dangers" The Rahanda replied, "I care not for these dangers, if I must die I must die, but I will not be conducted by you" When Palita heard this he was utterly dismayed, and weeping bitterly fled away

By the power of Akkhupala's devotion the throne of the Sakka King² became rigid,³ and its occupant looking forth observed the Rahanda in his difficulty, and leaving the Nat country descended to earth, then taking care that his footfall should be heard by Akkhupala he went along in front of him Akkhupala asked whose footstep it was, and the Nat King answered that he was a wayfarer, and asked the Rahanda whither he was going, on receiving the reply that he was bound for the Sivatti country, he suggested that they should travel together, but the Mahathera said, 'Danda, I am very infirm and shall delay you on your journey' The Sakka King rejoined, "Not so, my Lord, I have no need of haste, and by accompanying you I shall obtain one of the ten results of good actions" The Rahanda seeing that this was a pious person, gave him the end of his staff, and they went on together, and in consequence

¹ A kind of Ghou

² The King of the Nats

³ The Throne of the Sakka King is of stone which is so soft that when he is seated on it in his usual cross legged position he sinks into it up to his knees as if it were a cushion but if any mortal requires it as a staircase and has sufficient power to invoke it the stone becomes rigid and the king consequently rises up and looking about him sees who requires it and

of the Nat having made a short and easy road, they arrived at the *Getavana* monastery the same evening, here *Kakkhupāla*, hearing sounds of Brahminical shells¹ and elephants, asked what it was, when he was astonished to hear that he was in the *Savatthi* country. "Why," said he, "when I came here formerly I was a very long time on the journey"—"Yes," replied the Nat, "but you see I knew a short cut." Then the *Rahanda* knew that this must be the Nat-King.

The Sakka Nat-King having conducted *Kakkhupāla* to the monastery where he formerly resided, created for him a numerous company of *Rahans* to be his associates, and then went to *Kulla-pāla* to acquaint him with his brother's arrival. *Kulla-pāla* went at once to the monastery, and when he saw his brother, he fell down, and embraced his feet and wept, saying, "Oh, my Lord, although I could not foresee this misfortune, did I not try to prevent you from becoming a *Rahan*?" then he made two of his slaves probationers for the priesthood, and ordered them to attend upon him.

Some time after this some village *Rahans*, who were going to contemplate *Parā-Taken*, and were passing from monastery to monastery, arrived near *Kakkhupāla*'s residence, and were going to contemplate the *Rahanda* when very heavy rain came on, which compelled them to defer their visit till the morrow. The rain did not cease till midnight, and in the early morning, as *Kakkhupāla* was walking up and down his verandah, earnestly engaged in his duties, the insects which had come out of the ground, owing to its being damp from the previous rain, were constantly being crushed

¹ A sort of trumpet

by his footsteps. When the Rahans arrived, and saw in the verandah all the dead insects, they asked who had been walking there, and on hearing that it was Kakkhupala, they reviled him, saying, "When he had his sight he would never walk up and down his verandah, but was always lying down, but now that he is blind he has taken to walking there, and destroys numbers of lives." Not satisfied with abusing him, they went to Para Taken, and told him how Kakkhupala destroyed insects by walking in his verandah. Para Taken asked them if they had seen him killing them, and they said they had not. "Well," said Para Tal en, "you did not see him kill the insects, neither did he see the insects, a Rahanda's heart can never wish for the destruction of life." Then the Rahans said, 'Lord and God, how comes it that although he is a Rahanda he is blind?' Para Tal en replied, "Rahans! Kakkhupala's blindness is the consequence of sins committed in a previous existence." The Rahans asked what these sins had been, and Para Taken continued, "Rahans! this Kakkhupala a long time ago was a doctor in Benares, and was in the habit of wandering through the different towns and villages practising medicine. Seeing one day a woman suffering from blindness, he said to her, 'If I cure your eyes, what will you give to me?' She replied, 'If you really give me back my sight, my sons, my daughters, and myself shall all be your slaves.' The doctor agreed to this and with one application of his medicine restored her sight. The woman, however, being afraid of being enslaved with her whole family, pretended to be still blind, and when the doctor came and asked her if she was cured, she replied that she

could not yet see, and that her eyes were more painful even than before. The doctor, enraged at her deceit, went home to procure some medicine which should make her blind again, and told his wife about it, his wife said nothing, and the doctor applied the medicine and rendered the woman again totally blind. Kak khupala Mahāthera was that doctor, his sin followed steadily behind him, just as the cart wheel follows the draught bullock."

THE END OF THE STORY OF KAKKHUPALA MAHATHERA

CHAPTER II

STORY OF MADDHAKUNDALI

PARA TAKEN, while he was in the Savatthi country, preached the law as follows, giving as an illustration of it an account of the *Thuthe's*¹ son, *Maddhakundali*.

In the Savatthi country there lived a *Thuthe* named *Adinnapubbakā*, he was called by this name because he would never give away anything to any one. This *Thuthe* had an only son, whom he loved very dearly, but he was so niggardly that, rather than pay a gold smith for his work, he made him a pair of earrings² with his own hands, and on that account his son received the name of *Maddhakundali*.

One day *Maddhakundali* became very seriously ill, when his father, fearing the expense of medicine and attendance, shut the boy up in the house, in order that no one should know anything about it, the

¹ The same as *Thugyue* one of the wealthy class

² The earrings worn by the Burmese are hollow cylinders of gold about one and a half inches long and three quarters of an inch in diameter thrust into the lobe of the ear for this purpose the lobe of the ear is pierced in the ordinary manner and the aperture gradually enlarged by introducing substances constantly but by very slow degrees increasing in size. These earrings are worn by both men and women.

mother, seeing the child so ill, begged him to send for a doctor, but the *Thu* cried out, "Woman! would you squander all my wealth?" Then he went himself to a doctor, and, explaining the symptoms of the disease, asked him what remedy should be employed. The doctor, seeing what a hard man he was, told him that the root and bark of the *Hu Hu Nya Nya* tree would be beneficial. The *Thu* went home and treated the invalid as he had been directed, but the disease increased in severity, and became beyond all remedy, then, when it was too late, he sent for the doctor. The doctor, the moment he saw the lad, knew at once that there was no hope, so he said, "I am very busy just now, and have no time to attend to this case, you had better send for some one else." The *Thu* then, fearing that all his relatives and friends might get a sight of his wealth, had the boy carried into one of the outer rooms of the house¹

¹ This means that the miser was afraid that if the boy died the people who would be sure to come and see the corpse the moment they heard of the death would if it were laid out in any of the principal rooms observe his plate jewels etc. These alone constitute the wealth of the Burmese who rarely if ever hoard actual money but keep all their property in the more portable form of gold and jewels.

His expectation of being inundated with visitors alludes to the way of conducting the funeral ceremonies in Burmah which bear a very strong resemblance to an Irish wake. The moment that the breath has left the body all the people in the house (but more especially the women) raise the most fearful shrieks as soon as the first paroxysms of grief have passed away they send invitations to all their friends and neighbours to attend the ceremonies. These come at once in great numbers with a band of music and a party of professional mourners hired for the occasion. The nearest relative sits at the head of the corpse eulogies of the

The *Thuthe* after contemplating with reverence . . . Taken asked him this question, "Can a man without performing any good works at all, by a pure and loving heart alone, obtain the happiness of the Nats?" Parī Taken replied, "Why do you ask me this? Your son Maddhakundali told you that because he died with his heart full of love and faith towards me, he was now enjoying the happiness of the Nats" —"When was it," said the *Thuthe*, "that he told me this?"—"This very day at the tomb," replied Parī Taken.

Once again Parī Taken related the story of Maddhakundali, and seeing that the mind of the *Thuthe* Adinnapubbaka (the boy's father) was still full of error, he commanded that Maddhakundali with his palace should descend to earth. Maddhakundali appeared in his palace, and descending from it made his obeisance to Parī Taken. Parī Taken said to him, "Young Nat, by means of what offerings and other good works did you obtain the happiness of the Nats?" The Nat's son replied, "Without performing one good work, but from dying in faith and love to my Lord and master I obtained the happiness of the Nats." Then Parī Taken said, "It is the heart of love and faith accompanying good actions which spreads as it were a beneficent shade from the world of men to the world of Nats." This divine utterance was like the stamp of a king's seal upon a royal edict.

When Parī Taken had finished his discourse, 84,000 of the congregation were converted. Maddhakundali obtained the reward due to Sotapatti,¹ and Adinnapub

¹ One state or condition of an Ariya of which there are altogether eight.

baka becoming a Sotāpan,¹ and sedulous in the performance of his duties as such, spent large sums of money in the performance of good works.

END OF THE STORY OF MADDHAKUNDALI.

One who has obtained the state of Sotāpatti

CHAPTER III

THE STORY OF TISSA THERA

PARA TAKEN preached the Law as follows, in the Sīvatthi country, reciting as an illustration of it the story of Tissa therā —

Tissa therā was the son of the younger sister of King Suddhodanā, the father of Parī Taken. At an advanced age he became a Rahan, and in consequence of living entirely upon the presents which Parī Taken sent him, he became very stout. He used to live in a Zayat¹ in the middle of a monastery, and wore a *thingan*² of many folds. One day some pilgrim priests arrived at the Zayat on their road to contemplate Parī Taken, seeing Tissa therā they thought he must be a priest of high rank, and coming before him prepared to offer him the respectful salutations due to his superior degree, but the Rahan took no notice of them. The young priests then said to him, "Lord and master, how many Lents have you passed?" Tissa therā replied, "I was old when I entered the

¹ A building open on all sides or nearly so employed for the accommodation of travellers or for the laity to assemble to hear the priests preach.

² A priest's garment consisting of different folds of cloth of a bright yellow colour in three separate pieces.

priesthood, I do not know how many Lents I have passed," then the young priests said, "You obstinate old man, at your age not to know how many Lents you have passed, and to be in doubt whether or not the Rahans who visit you are of higher rank and entitled to receive from you the different marks of respect, such as descending to receive them and such like observances!" Saying thus they clapped their hands at him and abused him. The passion of Tissa was like that of an enraged king. "Whom," said he, "did you come here to visit?"—"We have come," they replied, "to see Parī Taken"—"Do you know," he said, "what relation I am to Parī Taken, are you desirous of destroying yourselves, and extirpating your whole race?" Then with tears of rage and vexation he rushed into the presence of Parī Taken. The Rahans fearing that he might rouse the anger of Parī Taken against them, followed him. Parī Taken, when he saw him, said, "What is it that makes your face

three times received the same reply. Then the Rahans said to Parā Taken, 'This Rahan Tissa is excessively obstinate.' Parā Taken replied, "Beloved Rahans, this is by no means the first occasion of his obstinacy, in times gone by he was equally deaf to all admonition." The Rahans said, 'Lord and master, his present obstinacy we see, but of his contumacy in former times we know nothing, will you favour us by relating the account of it?' Parā Taken related the story as follows —

Rahans! This Tissa, in times long gone by, was the Rishi¹ Devala, who used to reside in the Himavanta Forest. On one occasion, wishing to procure some savoury food, he came to the country of Benares, and took up his residence in the Oden Zayat². At this time the Rishi Nārada, who had come to Benares from the Himavanta Forest for a similar purpose, arrived at the same Zayat, after asking permission of Tissa, who was already settled in the Zayat, he too made it his residence, and the two Rishis passed the day in conversation. When night came, and it was time to sleep, the Rishi Nārada after carefully noting where the Rishi Devala was going to sleep, the position of the door and so forth, lay down. Devala wishing to annoy the other Rishi, moved away from his proper sleeping place and lay down across the doorway. Nārada going out through the door, trod on his pigtail³. Devala, starting up cried out, 'Who trod on my pigtail?' Nārada

¹ A devotee ascetic

² The potter's Zayat so called probably in consequence of having been erected by some potter as a pious offering

³ The Burmese priests shave the head and face but rely the story must allude to a Hindu priest some of whom wear a very

replied, 'Master, it was I, Nārada the Rishi, who accidentally trod on it, bear with me, I do you homage;' saying this he went outside and presently came back. Now, Devala, knowing that the Rishi on his return would pass carefully round by his feet, changed his position, and placed his head where his feet had previously been, so that when Nārada came in and passed as he thought by his feet, he trod right on the other Rishi's neck; whereupon Devala starting up again cried out, 'Who trod on my neck?' to which Nārada replied, 'It was I, Nārada the Rishi, I accidentally trod on your neck; I do you homage.' But Devala cursed him, saying, 'you bad Rishi Nārada, you have trodden on my pigtail, you have trodden on my neck; at sunrise may the head of the Rishi Nārada split into seven pieces!' Nārada replied to this, 'My friend, I am in no way to blame, your curse will not fall on me but on him who is the guilty one; and it is his head which will split into seven pieces.' Now, Nārada was a Rishi of great power and glory, his wisdom could contemplate forty past and forty future grand cycles of time. When by means of this great wisdom he began to consider whose head would split into seven pieces at sunrise, and saw that it would be that of the Rishi Devala, he had compassion upon him, and by means

of his great power and glory prevented the sun from rising on the following day

When the people of the country found that the sun did not rise, and that there was total darkness, they went to the gate of the king's palace, and cried out, "Great King, you who rule over this country, do you not always act in conformity with the ten laws? Make therefore the sun to rise, for this darkness will be the destruction of all your subjects"

The king meditated upon his own state and, finding that he was free from all guilt, came to the conclusion that the phenomenon must have been caused by some Rishi or Rahan of great power having quarrelled and uttered an invocation, he accordingly inquired of the people of the country, who told him that in the Oden Zayat there were two Rishis whom they had heard quarrelling and cursing. The king immediately had torches lighted, and went off to the Zayat, there, seeing the Rishi Nirada he respectfully saluted him, and said, 'My lord Rishi Nirada, the people of Gambudvipa¹ have never before known such darkness as now encompasses them, whence does it arise?' Nirada related to the king the whole circumstances of the curse of the Rishi Devala, and when the king asked the nature of the curse, he said, "Although no fault whatever could be imputed to me, Devala cursed me, saying, 'when the sun rises, may your head split into seven pieces!' but I told him that, as I was innocent, the curse would fall not on me, but on who soever was in fault. Then foreseeing by the power which I have, that at sunrise Devala's head would

¹ One of the four great islands surrounding Mount Meru which is supposed to be the centre of the universe

head, and the clod of earth that was upon it split into seven fragments, and the Rishi, thus escaping his dreadful doom, crossed, as he had been told, to the opposite side of the tank, and fled away¹

When the sun rose, and the light again appeared, all the people of the country were greatly rejoiced

Parī Taken, at the close of the story, said, "Beloved Rahans, the people whom I have mentioned in my story, and who lived long ago, are this day among us. The King is now Ānanda, the Rishi Devāla is this Rahan Tissa, the Rishi Nārada is myself the Parī, you see, then, that this is not the first time that this Tissa has been obstinate and deaf to admonition, his obstinacy was quite as great in times that have long gone by." Then he called Tissa to him, and said, "Rahans should never bear a grudge against any man, saying 'this man was angry with me, this one oppressed me, or this one took away my property,' for in this way hatred is fostered, but they should bear no grudge, and should say 'let him do this to me' or 'let him say that to me,' for in this manner all angry feelings die away."

When Parī Taken had finished this discourse, a hundred thousand Rahans obtained the reward of Sotīpatti, and Tissa, so obstinate before, became docile and gentle

END OF THE STORY OF TISSA-THERA

¹ This story bears a curious resemblance to the Leech of Iolkestone in the Ingoldeby Legends where exactly the same experiment is adopted to evade the effects of witchcraft

CHAPTER IV

THE STORY OF KULAKALA AND MAHAKALA

AT another time, while Parī Taken was living in the ebony forest near the city of Setavya, he preached a discourse about Kullakāla and Mahākāla. These Kullakāla and Mahākāla, used to travel about with carts laden with merchandise and trade in the different places they came to. On one occasion they reached the Sīvattī country with 500 carts full of goods, and rested midway between the city of Sīvattī and the Getavana monastery. Mahākāla seeing the people of the country carrying sweet scented flowers to the monastery, asked them whither they were going, and on being told that they were on their road to the monastery to hear the law preached he resolved to accompany them, and, giving over all the property to the care of his younger brother Kullakāla, he provided himself with sweet scented flowers, and, following the crowd came into the presence of Parī Taken, and heard his exposition of the law, regarding the vileness of lust and the rewards to be obtained hereafter by

he ought first to ask he should go and obtain his permission Accordingly Mahākala went to his younger brother, and told him that he was about to become a Rahan and that he gave up to him the whole of their joint property His brother endeavoured earnestly to dissuade him from his project, but seeing that he was not to be deterred he at last gave way, and accorded his permission Mahākala then returned to Para Taken and became a Rahan Some time afterwards Kullakāla also in company with his elder brother, practised the duties of a Rahan

Mahākala when he had reached the stage of a Paṇḍita, addressed Para Taken thus "Lord and master in your church how many religious duties are there? Para Taken replied, 'There are two viz, Gandhadhura and Vipassanadhura Mahākala said,

Lord and master I entered the priesthood at too advanced an age to acquire the Gandhadhura, give me the Vipassanadhura Para Taken seeing that Mahākala would become a Rahanda gave him the duty of Susana¹ which has the power of conducting to the state of a Rahanda

Mahākala having thoroughly acquired the Susana duty when the evening watch was passed and every one was asleep went to the burial place and remained there engaged in this observance, at daybreak before any one was stirring he returned to the monastery This practice he continued every day

One day the woman who watched the cemetery and burned the bodies seeing the Rahan Mahākala walk

¹ Susana means a cemetery where bodies are either buried or burnt

ing to and fro repeating the Kamma// na,¹ began to consider who it could be who came to her place, and accordingly meeting him at the midnight watch, she addressed him thus "Lord and master, the Rahans who perform Susana have a preparatory duty to execute" Mahākala said, "Darakama," what duty is this?"—"Lord and master," replied the woman, "they should ask the permission of the keeper of the burial ground and the owner of the village"—"Why so?" said Mahākala "Because thieves, when they have committed a robbery, often flee for refuge to a burial ground, and the owners of the property pursuing them thither, finding the property sometimes abandoned in the graveyard, if they saw Rahans there, would ill treat them seriously, but if the burial ground keepers and the owners of villages were to say that such a Rahan had asked permission of them, he would be known to be guiltless" The Rahan Mahākālā then said to her, "Besides what you have already said, have you anything else to tell me?" She replied, "Lord and master, the Rahans who remain in burial grounds must abstain from fish, curry stuff, bread, oil, and treacle, and they must never sleep in the daytime. They must employ themselves energetically, and by means of these energetic efforts in the repetition of the Vipassanā, they secure the comple

and master, rich people are placed in a coffin, adorned with a red woollen cloth, and then burnt, with regard to poor people, a heap of wood is piled up and set on fire, then they are cut in pieces with the edge of a spade, so as to burn easily, and are so consumed." When Mahākāla heard this, he said to the burial ground keeper, "Tiguma,¹ let me know when the changing of the form of a human body shall take place, that I may recite a Kammattikīna over it." The woman agreed to do so and Mahākāla remained engaged in the Rahan's duty of Susīna.

About this time, Mahākāla, the Rahan, having worldly thoughts, began to regret his family, his wife and children. One day, while he was performing his duties in the burial ground, the parents of a very beautiful girl who had died suddenly brought the body, together with the necessary firewood, to the cemetery, and, delivering it to the burial ground keeper, gave instructions for her to burn it, then, after giving her the customary fee, they went away. The body burner, on removing the numerous garments which covered the body, seeing how very beautiful she was thought that she was worthy of having a Kammattikīna said over her, and accordingly went and told Mahākāla. Mahākāla looked at the corpse on the pyre, and examined it from the soles of the feet to the ends of the hair, then he said a Kammattikīna over the body, which had the beautiful colour of gold, and withdrew, saying to the body burner, "Let me know when the features are becoming destroyed." The body burner, as soon as the features were changing

¹ Tāma (tāma) and Tāma (tāma) are used in the same way as Dāma and Dāma in the two words of the last

ing, went and told him, and he returned and said another *Kammattāna* over the body. The body, now losing its appearance, looked like a speckled cow,—the feet fell down, the hands, bent and warped, were raised up, from the forehead downwards the body was divested of its skin and flesh. Mahākala therā, seeing this, said, “This young girl only just now had the appearance of gold, but now she has come to utter destruction.” Then, after again repeating the *Kammattāna*, he exclaimed, “This is the law of mutability! there is nothing permanent.” On this, he redoubled his exertions in repeating the *Vipassanā* law, and reached the state of a *Rahanda*.

duct him here," they sent him off with some slaves to receive Parī Taken. Kullakūḷa, not at all ashamed of having re-entered the laity before keeping his first Lent, went as a layman to receive Parī Taken. Parī Taken, after eating his rice, preached the law, and then took his departure. Kullakāla's wives took their husband, now a layman, home with them.

Mahākāla's wives hearing of this, said to themselves, "Kullakāla's wives have got their husband back, we will recover ours in the same way." Accordingly, they invited Parī Taken to come and take rice, thinking that their husband Mahākāla would come to prepare for his reception, but Parī Taken sent another Rahan for this purpose. The wives being so far foiled in their plot, after entertaining Parī Taken with rice, addressed him thus: "Lord and master, when you take your departure, leave Mahākūḷa there with us, to preach to us the benefits resulting from offerings of rice." Parī Taken then turned to leave, but when he reached the door, the Rahans said to him, "Parī Taken, if you leave Mahākūḷa there behind, his wives will drag him off, only recently Kullakūḷa, in consequence of being sent to prepare for your reception, was pulled away by his wives, and has become a layman, hence it is really not fitting that Mahākūḷa there should be left behind by himself." Parī Taken replied, "Rahans, my dear sons, do you think that Mahākūḷa resembles Kullakūḷa? Kullakūḷa is like a [drift] tree that has reached the shore, but Mahākūḷa there is like a mountain of solid rock, which nothing can shake."

Rahan? Who told you to become a Rahan? Now become a layman again" Saying this, they dragged him along, and tried to strip off his priest's clothes, but Mahākāla thera, knowing what his wives were about, by means of his miraculous power, rose from the ground, and, flying away over the roofs of the houses through the steeples and spires to the place where Parī Taken was, descended to the ground, made his obeisance to him, and remained in his company

At the conclusion of this discourse, the Rahans obtained the reward of Sotāpatti

END OF THE STORY OF KULLAKALA AND MAHAKALA

CHAPTER V

THE STORY OF QUEEN SAMAVATI, QUEEN MAGANDIYA,
AND THE SLAVE KHUGGUTTARA

On another occasion, Parī Taken, when he was in the Kosambi country, and residing in the Ghosī tīrīma monastery, preached a discourse upon the subject of Queen Sīmavati and Queen Magandiyā

A long time ago, two kings, King Allakappa and King Vethadipaka, between whom there had existed a friendship of long standing, dating from their earliest childhood, were learning together the different sciences. On the death of their parents, they both entered on their governments. After performing the functions of kings for a very long time, tired of the world and impressed with the law of fear, they both abandoned their countries, and, becoming Hermit Rahanas, took up their residence in the Himavanta forest.

These two hermits having built a monastery each, on a separate hill, resided in it, and at every quarter of the moon they used to observe the day (as a sabbath), and lighting a lamp as a signal, thus communicated to each other intelligence of their existence. One day, the Rishi Vethadipaka died, and became a Nat of great glory. When the day of the quarter of the

moon came round, Allakappa, seeing no light in his friend's monastery, knew that he was dead

Now the Nat's son, Vetḥadīpaka, the moment that he became a Nat, entering upon all the enjoyments of that condition, began to consider by what good deed he had obtained this happiness, and saw that he owed it to having abandoned his country and lived as a hermit in the forest. Assuming the guise of a traveller, he went to his old friend Allakappa, and after making obeisance to him, stood before him. Allakappa, the Rishi, said to him, "Daraka, whence come you?"¹ "Lord and master," he replied, "I am Vetḥadīpaka, on my death, I became a Nat of great glory, I have come to contemplate my lord and master." After this he resumed, "Lord and master, have you any difficulties or troubles here?" Allakappa replied, "In this place the elephants with their footsteps make great holes in the ground and dirty the precincts of the monastery, and I have great trouble in keeping the place clean and filling up again the holes with earth." The Nat's son said, "Do you wish to keep the elephants away?" He replied, "Yes, all I want is to prevent them coming here." — "Very good, then," he said, and he gave him the charm called "Hatthikanta," which has the power of driving away or bringing elephants, and shewing him a three stringed lute, he taught him the threefold spell, saying, "If you strike this string and repeat this charm, the elephants will run away, strike this one and repeat this charm, and they will come to you, and, bending down, will carry you." After giving these instructions, he

¹ This is the ordinary salutation of the Burmese answering to the "How do you do?" of Europeans

went away Allakappa, sounding the note which would drive away elephants kept them away from his vicinity

At this time, in the Kosambi country, King Parantapa one day was with his queen outside a Pyatvat,¹ the queen was in the family way, and the king had made her put on a large scarlet cloak, and had placed on her finger a ring of the value of a hundred thousand (ghanikas), just then a Hatthilinga, a monster bird, flew down from the sky and taking the queen for a piece of flesh, fluttered his wings with a tremendous noise, the king hearing the sound went inside the Pyatvat,¹ but the queen, owing to her condition, being unable to escape was swept off by the bird, for the Hatthilinga has the strength of five elephants. The queen fearing for her life kept perfectly quiet, thinking that if she made any noise the bird would let her fall. The Hatthilinga arriving at the Himavanta Forest, dropped her in the fork of a banyan tree in order to devour her. When he began to fly around the place where he intended to perch, to examine all around the vicinity as it is the nature of birds to do, the queen seized the opportunity, and clapping her hands, shouted lustily, and the bird startled at the unexpected noise, flew away.

At this time the sun went down, and from the effect of past sins committed by the queen, the wind began to blow and violent rain came on, and she passed a sleepless and miserable night. At dawn, the rain ceased, and when the sun rose the queen

¹ A Pyatvat is a building ornamented with a number of roofs rising one above the other. The word is a corruption of the Sanskrit Prasadā a palace.

gave birth to a son. To this son she gave the name of Udena, because at his birth he had experienced the three seasons, the cold season the hot season, and the rainy season. Now, the banyan tree was at no great distance from the residence of the Rishi Allakappa. It was the Rishi's habit to collect and eat the bones of the fish and meat which the birds dropped from this tree, accordingly, going as usual to the banyan tree he was surprised to hear the crying of a child among the branches, and looking up he saw the queen. "Who are you?" he cried. The queen replied, "A woman"—"How did you get into the banyan tree?" said he. "The monster bird," she replied, "brought me and left me here"—"Then come down," he said, but the queen answered, "I am afraid of losing my caste"—"Of what race are you?" he asked. "A king's wife," she replied. The Rishi rejoined, "I also am a king"—"If so," said the queen, "repeat the mystic formula of kings." The Rishi, who had abandoned a great kingdom to become a hermit, repeated the formula. "Now," said the queen, "come up here and take down my son." The Rishi then placing a ladder against the tree, took the child from the queen, without touching her, and brought it down. The queen also descended, and the Rishi conducted her to his monastery, where he lived with her without failing in his duty of chastity. He supplied her, for her food, with honey and rice. After some time the queen began to reflect thus. "I do not know the road by which I came, I do not know what road I should have to take, if this Rishi should leave me here, my son and I would perish in the forest," so she formed the design of making the Rishi break

his vows. Keeping constantly as near him as possible, she endeavoured by wearing her garments indecorously and by various other feminine wiles, to overcome his chastity. At length she succeeded, and they began to live together as man and wife. One day Allakappa when he was looking at the stars observed that the star of Parantapa had faded, he immediately went to the queen and said, 'Queen, King Parantapa in the country of Kosambi is dead'—"How does my Lord the Rishi know this?" she asked. "I know it," he replied, "because I saw his star had faded." Then the queen began to weep. The Rishi said, "Queen, why do you weep?"—"That King Parantapa is my husband," she replied. "Queen, weep not," said the Rishi, "among men there is not one who has not to die, all is mutability." The queen said, "I know the law of mutability, but I weep for the misfortunes of my son who were he in the Kosambi country would now be king over his father's dominions." The Rishi replied 'Have no fear for him, I will render your son such assistance as will secure his being made the king,' saying this, he gave to the young boy Udena the lute which the elephants loved, and taught him the spell to attract them.

Prince Udena sounded the lute, and immediately more than a thousand elephants came to the foot of the banyan tree. The Rishi gave him minute instructions as to the different duties and observances of kings, and when he had completed them, he made the prince one day climb into the fork of the banyan tree and sound the lute. No sooner was the sound of the magic Hatthukanta lute heard than a huge elephant bringing with him more than a thousand other elephants

came close up to where the prince was, as much as to say, "Mount on my back" Then the Rishi made him mount the elephant, and calling to the queen, said to her, "Acquaint the prince with all his circumstances, and he will not fail to be king" The queen accordingly told him "My dear child, you are the son of King Parantapa, in the Kosambi country, a monster bird carried me off in this scarlet cloak, and dropped me in this banyan tree where I gave birth to you When you arrive in that country if the nobles and ministers do not believe your story, show them this ruby ring and the scarlet cloak with which your father covered me," so saying, she gave him the ring and the cloak. The prince then made his obeisance to his mother and the Rishi, mounted the huge elephant, and surrounded by over a thousand more of these animals started on his journey, carrying in his bosom the Hatthikanta lute When he came to the villages on the outskirts of the country, he called out, "Those who wish to receive my favour, let them follow me," and he took great numbers with him

As soon as he reached the Kosambi country he erected a stockade with the branches of trees, then he sent to the inhabitants, saying, "Will you fight, or will you give me up the country?" They returned for answer, "We will neither fight nor give up the country, we know nothing about this story of our monarch's queen having been carried away with an unborn child by a monster bird, we do not know whether there is a queen or not" Then he went to the ministers and nobles and said to them, "I am the son of the queen," and told them his name, but no one would believe his story At last he showed them

the cloak and the ring which had belonged to his father, then the ministers and all the inhabitants said, "This is really the son of our king," and they made him monarch over their country.

One day King Udena opening the door of his summer palace, and looking out, saw the young girl Samavati, and asked whose daughter she was. Now, this Sīmavati was the daughter of the *Thuthe* Bhaddavati, of the Bhaddavati country, at a time when that country was ravaged by famine and pestilence she came to the Kosambi country of which Udena was king, and had been adopted by the *Thuthe* Ghosita¹ as his daughter. Shortly after this, Samavati, after being very handsomely dressed was conducted to the king, who, the moment he saw her fell violently in love with her and immediately had the inaugural ceremony of pouring water performed, and raised her to the rank of his queen, and Samavati became a great queen surrounded by 500 female attendants.

In another country called Uggeni there reigned a king named Kandapaggota, he had a daughter called Visuladatta. This king one day while he was walking about his garden observing the magnificence of his army, asked his nobles, "Is there any other king who possesses an army like mine or such elephants and horses?" The nobles replied, "Your Majesty, the army and elephants and horses of King Udena in the Kosambi country are exceedingly numerous." King Kandapaggota said, "If this be so, I will take prisoner King Udena." The nobles said, "Your Majesty will not be able to take King Udena"—"How so?" he asked. They replied "Because he possesses the Hatthikunta charm, by repeating this

¹ Text has Ghosaka and ma uscr pt Glosa

spell he can make elephants and horses take to flight, he has also a charm to make them come to him " When King *Kandapaggota* heard what the nobles said, he said, "I will contrive to take him, and gain possession of his charm "

He had an elephant very well made of wood and carefully painted, then he had machinery fixed inside to be worked with ropes and enclosing sixty men to pull the ropes started it off across the boundary of King *Udena's* territory, and made it wall up and down near a tank, and moreover, had a quantity of elephants' dung scattered all round the edge of the tank. A hunter happening to see it went and told King *Udena*, who immediately started off with all his forces. King *Kandapaggota* as soon as he heard that King *Udena* had set off brought out a large army and posted them in ambuscade on either side of the road which King *Udena* would take, the latter not knowing that the other king was coming set off in pursuit of the elephant, the men inside pulling hard at the ropes sent it off at great speed. King *Udena* struck the lute and uttered the spell but the elephant being a wooden one paid no attention to it, and made off faster than ever, with King *Udena* in pursuit. The king seeing that he could not gain on it, descended from his elephant and mounted his horse, his army unable to keep up with him were soon left behind. After he had gone some considerable distance he came on the army of King *Kandapaggota*, who seized him and carried him off to their king.

When the army of King *Udena* knew that he was captured, they halted and built a fortification with branches of trees. King *Kandapaggota* placed King

Udena in prison, and set a guard over him, then he gave a great feast to his army which lasted for three days. On the third day King Udena said to those who were guarding him, "What is your king doing with his army that they make so much noise?" They replied, "He is giving a great feast to his army because he has conquered his enemy"—"Your king," said Udena, "is acting like a woman, after conquering a hostile king he should either kill him or let him go, why does he inflict all this misery upon me?" When the guards told King *Kandapaggota* what Udena had said, he came to the prison and asked him if he had really said so. King Udena at once acknowledged that he had said so. "Very well," said the other king, "if you wish to be released, give me the charm that you know, and I will give you your liberty." King Udena replied, "If you will pay homage to me I will give it to you." The other king said "I will pay no homage to you." Udena persisted, "If you will not pay homage to me you shall not have it." King *Kandapaggota* said, "If you do not give it me I will have you executed." Udena rejoined, "Do what you like with me, you have power over my body, but none over my mind."

The king on hearing the bold words of Udena began to think that only by craft he could succeed in obtaining the charm from him, and came to the conclusion that the only plan would be to make his daughter procure the charm from him, and then learn it from her, as it would not do for others to have the knowledge of it. Accordingly he went to Udena and said to him, "Would you give up the charm to any one else who would pay homage to you?" He replied,

"I will give it to the person who pays homage to me"—"If that be so," said the other, "there is in my house a hunchback, I will put her inside a curtain, and you remaining outside of it, repeat the charm to her" After firmly impressing upon him that his daughter was a hunchback, he went to his daughter and said to her, "There is a leper here who will teach you a charm that is worth a hundred thousand golden pieces, but you must do obeisance to him from the inside of a curtain, the leper remaining outside will repeat to you the charm, and you must learn it very carefully" Now, the reason of the king making Udena think his daughter was a hunchback, and his daughter think that Udena was a leper was, that he thought that otherwise they might contract an improper intimacy with each other

When all the arrangements were made, the Princess *Vīśuladattī*, from the inside of the curtain, bowed down in homage, and King Udena, on the outside, recited the charm to her After repeating the charm several times, when the princess had not succeeded in learning it, Udena became very angry, and cried out to the princess, "Oh, you hunchback! you have got very thick lips, rub them with a potsherd" The princess, very indignant, retorted, "You leper! do you dare call a princess like me a hunchback?" On this, Udena opened the curtains, and, looking in, saw the princess "Why, I thought you were a hunchback, your father told me so, and he has told you I was a leper I am King Udena"—"If this be so," said the princess, "come under the curtain" Udena then went inside the curtain, and the result the king had feared took place After some time, King An

dapaggota cried out, "Have you learned it?" and the princess replied, "I do not know it yet, I am still learning it"

One day, King Udena said to the princess, "If ever a woman follows the wishes of a husband, neither brothers nor sisters have any power to oppose her, if you wish me to save my life, follow implicitly my wishes I will then raise you to the rank of my queen, and give you a retinue of 500 female attendants" The princess, after making him engage by a solemn promise to keep his word, went to her father, and, with a woman's deceit, said to him, "My father, your Majesty, in order that I may succeed in learning the charm, it will be necessary for me to repeat the spell by night, after noting a certain position of the stars, and then procure a certain medicinal root, therefore place an elephant at my disposal, and have one of the doors left open" The king said, "Daughter, take any elephant you like, and have one of the doors left open"

Now, King Andapaggota was possessed of the five swift conveyances — the female elephant called Bhāḍavati, which would travel fifty *yogas*¹ in one day, a slave named Kāka,² who could travel sixty *yogas* in a day, a horse called *Kelakantha*, who could travel twenty *yogas* in a day, a horse called the *Mungakesi*, an elephant called *Nalagiri*, who could travel one hundred *yogas* in a day The circumstances under which he became the owner of these five kinds of swift conveyance were as follows —

¹ The Burmese *yuzana* is 13, English miles according to Judson but the Sanskrit *yogana* is stated by Wilson to be 9 miles or according to some computations only $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles

² Text and manuscript have *Kala*

King *Kandapaggota*, in a former state of existence, was a slave. One day, while accompanying his master on a journey, they fell in with a Pa//ekabuddha¹. His master said, "Lord and master, have you had rice?"—"Tagī," he replied "I have not yet had any." Then the master of the slave, who was the embryo King *Kandapaggota*, sent him back home to procure some rice. The slave quickly returned with the rice, and presented it to the Pa//ekabuddha, and his master said to him, "Because you have used such diligence in bringing the rice, I make over to you half of the future rewards to be acquired by the offering." Then the slave made this invocation "As the reward of my having so quickly procured and presented this offering of rice, may I hereafter be the possessor of the five swift conveyances." In consequence of this invocation, the slave afterwards became King *Kandapaggota*.

One day, King *Kandapaggota* went out to amuse himself in the garden. King *Udena*, thinking this a good opportunity to escape, filled a leather bag with a large quantity of gold and silver, and placing the Princess *Vasuladatti* on a swift female elephant fled away. When the palace guards acquainted the king with the flight of *Udena* and the princess he sent off his people at once in pursuit. *Udena* seeing that he was pursued, immediately began to scatter the gold and silver along the road and into every bush he passed. His pursuers, delaying to pick up the treasure, dropped behind and *Udena* reached in safety the fortification which his army had built of branches

¹ A *sem Buddha* who occasionally appears in the intervals between real Buddhas.

of trees while the hostile party, giving up the pursuit, returned home Udena after returning with his army to his own country, raised the Princess Vasuladatta to the rank of his queen, and gave her 500 female attendants

This is the account of how King Udena obtained possession of the Princess Vasuladatta

In the Kurumattha country there lived a Brahmin named Magandiya He had a daughter whom he had named Magandiyā and his wife's name, moreover was Magandiyā and he had an uncle whose name was Kullam gandiya This Brahmin's daughter Magandiyā *was very lovely, she was as beautiful as a Nat's daughter* Princes and sons of *Truths* sent to demand her hand but her father the Brahmin daunted them all with the reply that they were not worthy of her At this time Parataken one morning at daybreak looking about to see who deserved to be released¹ saw that the Brahmin Magandiya and his wife would attain to Anagami² then he went into the vicinity of their village Magandiya the Brahmin who at this time was going about in search of a husband suitable for his daughter, met Parataken on the road At once from his appearance he saw that he was a fit husband for his daughter, and approaching him said, My lord Rahan my daughter is worthy of you she is as lovely as a Nat's daughter She will tend upon my lord Rahan, my lord Rahan look upon my daughter as your wife I will send for her Remain here" Then he made haste back to his house and said to his wife Brahmin I have found a husband suitable

¹ Irom sū and ts pun sment

² The third state of an Ariya

to our daughter Adorn her quickly " When his wife had completed the adornment of her daughter as quickly as possible, they all three started off to Para Taken, and the people followed them, shouting noisily as they went along, "Look here, the Brahmin and his wife are going to give their daughter a husband" At this moment Parā Taken, marking with his sacred footstep the site of a *Ketiya*¹ on the spot where the Brahmin had told him to remain, went and stood at another place close by The sacred footsteps of Parā Takens are only apparent upon the spots which they command to be hereafter relies When they do not so command, their footsteps are always invisible Moreover, only those people for whom they have earnestly prayed can see those footsteps Such appointed footstep no elephant or any animal that exists, not the heaviest rain, not the most violent wind, can obliterate At this time, the Brahmin's wife said to him, "Where is this young man?" and he replied, "I told him to be in this place" Then looking about, he saw the *Ketiya* footstep, and said, 'This must be his footstep' The Brahmin's wife who was thoroughly versed in the book of outward signs and in the three Vedas on examining the different signs of the footstep exclaimed, "O Brahmin, this footstep does not belong to any one who is subject to the five passions² This footstep is that of a Parā Taken, free from every evil disposition "

¹ A pagoda enshrining the relic of a Buddha

² The Brahmins here recite in poetry the signs of the foot mark of the lustful the angry and the ignorant man The printed text and the manuscript differ greatly here and neither are intelligible

The Brahmin said to his wife, "You see signs, like seeing an alligator in a cup of water, or thieves in the midst of a house. Hold your tongue and say nothing, or people will hear you," then, after looking about, he descried Parā Taken. "Here is the young man," said he, showing him to his wife, and he went up to Parā Taken, and presenting his daughter Māgandiyā, said, "My lord Rahan, I give you my daughter." Parā Taken said, "I will tell you something, listen to me. From the sacred forest to the foot of the Agapūla banyan-tree the Mān-nat King fought with me, but unable to overcome me, took to flight, that king's daughter, with amorous wiles, and all the beauty and witchery of the Nats sought to beguile me, but she failed to raise any feeling of passion. How should I desire your daughter, who is subject to the vilest necessities of humanity? I would not have her touch even the sole of my foot." Then he recited some verses, at the conclusion of which the Brahmin and his wife received the reward of the state of Anāgāmi. The Brahmin's daughter Māgandiyā was greatly incensed against Parā Taken. She said, "This Rahan not only says that he does not want me, but that, subject as I am to the vilest necessities of humanity, he would not have me touch the sole of his foot. When I have married a husband of family, wealth, and influence, I will do what ought to be done to the Rahan Gotama." And she bore a grudge against him. The question will arise, "Was Parā Taken aware of Māgandiyā's anger?"—He was not ignorant of it, he knew it. Again, "If he knew it, why did he recite the verses?"—Because, although the daughter had resentful feelings, he wished to profit the other

two Brahmins, her parents. Parās take no account of anger, but preach the law to those who are deserving of the reward of the right way. The Brahmin and his wife, after receiving the reward of Anīgāmi, gave their daughter into the charge of her uncle, and becoming Rahans, reached the state of Rahandas.

The uncle, determined to give his niece to none but a king of high family, took her away with him, and presented her to King Udena. The king, falling violently in love with her the moment that he saw her, had the ceremony of pouring water performed, gave her a retinue of 500 female attendants and raised her to the rank of his queen. Thus, King Udena had three queens, residing in three palaces, with 1500 female attendants, or 500 for each queen. The king used to give to Queen Samavati every day eight kahupanas to buy flowers to adorn herself with. A female slave of Queen Samavati named Khugguttari, used to go every day, and buy the flowers from the flower woman, Sumanī, but she never bought more than four kahupanas' worth, keeping the other four for herself. One day, this Sumanī, the flower woman, resolved to go and make an offering of rice to Parā Taken, and when Khugguttari came as usual to her to buy flowers, she said to her, 'Wait a little, Khugguttara, I have no time now, for I am just going to offer some rice to Parā Taken'—"If that be so," said Khugguttari, "let us go together and hear the law." The flower woman agreeing to this, they went together. Sumanī made an offering of rice to Parā Taken and his attendant Rahans. When Parā Taken had eaten the rice,

he preached the law, and Khugguttarā after hearing it, received the reward of Sotāpatti¹. On this occasion, Khugguttarā, who had been in the habit of keeping four kaṭṭipanas every day for herself, expended the whole of the eight kaṭṭipanas in flowers, owing to her having become a Sotāpan in consequence of listening to the law of Parā Taken.

The queen, when she saw so many more flowers than usual, exclaimed, "Khugguttarā, what a number of flowers there are! Has the king given to-day more than the ordinary flower money?" Khugguttarā replied, "Lady, every day I have been in the habit of spending four kaṭṭipanas on the flowers, keeping the other four for myself, but to-day I went with Sumanī who was making an offering of rice to Parā Taken, and after listening to his preaching of the law have obtained the reward of Sotāpatti, and therefore I do not steal." The queen, instead of being angry with her, merely said, "Was it right for you to take my property in this way every day?" and told her to preach to her the law she had just heard. Khugguttarā said, "Very good, I will preach the law to you, but you must bathe me." The queen accordingly had her bathed with sixteen pots of perfumed water, and presented her with two cloths. One of these cloths Khugguttarā put on, and one she threw over her, then, taking up her position in a place of honour, she preached the sacred law precisely as Parā Taken had preached it. Queen Sāmavati and her 500 female attendants, joining their hands in an attitude of devotion, listened to the law, and when it was finished, the whole of them became Sotāpans, and the queen, paying hom-

¹ The first state of an Ariya

age to Khugguttarā, said, "Khugguttarā, from this day I shall never call you a slave, henceforth you must do no work; from this time I regard you as my mother and my teacher, and you must go and hear Parā Taken preach the law, and come and repeat it to me."

In obedience to the queen's commands, Khugguttarā went regularly to hear Parā Taken preach the law, and repeated it to the queen and her 500 attendants. In consequence of Khugguttarā knowing the three books of the *Piṭaka*,¹ Parā Taken said to the Rahans, "Beloved Rahans, Khugguttarā is most excellent in the preaching of the law;" and he placed her in a position of superiority.

One day, Queen Sāmavatī said, "Khugguttarā, I wish to contemplate Parā Taken. Invite him to come here." Khugguttarā replied, "Lady, kings' houses are very difficult of access, and your Majesty would not dare to go outside."—"Very well, then," said the queen, "when Parā Taken comes to receive rice, you must point out to me which is Parā Taken, and which is Sāriputta and Moggalāna."—"Very good," said Khugguttarā; "my lady must make holes through the walls of her apartment, and then, looking through them, do homage." Queen Sāmavatī accordingly, with her 500 female attendants, made holes in the walls of their apartment, and when Parā Taken came to receive rice, they made obeisance and worshipped him.

One day Queen Māgandiyā going to the Pyatlat, and seeing the holes in the wall, asked what they were made for; Queen Sāmavatī not knowing that Māgandiyā had a grudge against Parā Taken, replied that they were made for the purpose of worshipping Gotama

¹ The Buddhist scriptures.

Parī Taken Queen Māgandiyā then thought to her self, "I will do what I ought to do to the Rahan Gotama, and I will destroy Queen Sīmavati." With this design she went to King Udena and said to him, "The inclination of Sīmavati is not towards you, but towards another, in a day or two she will kill you." King Udena, convinced that Sīmavati could not do such a thing, would not believe her. Māgandiyā said, 'If your Majesty does not believe me go and examine her apartment.' The king went to Sīmavati's apartment, and on inquiring why holes had been made in the wall, was told by Sīmavati that when Parī Taken came to receive rice, she had worshipped him. When the king heard this, he was not at all angry, but he had the holes filled up and windows made in their place, and it was in King Udena's reign that for the first time windows were made in the upper apartment of a palace.

Māgandiyā, unable to do anything against Sīmavati, formed the design of compelling the Rahan Gotama, who had so shamed her, to leave the neighbourhood, to carry it out, she gave a large quantity of gold and silver to the people of the country, and told them when Parī Taken came to receive rice, to hoot him and insult him, so as to make him go to some other place. Accordingly, those who were heretics and who did not respect the three jewels,¹ when they saw Parī Taken approaching to receive rice, shouted at him, 'O you bad priest, are you not a rascally thief? You stupid priest, you are like a bullock like the brute beasts suffering for former sins.' When the people thus insulted him my lord Ananda² said, 'Lord and

¹ Gotama the law and the priesthood

² Younger brother of Gotama

master, these people have insulted us, it is better that we should go elsewhere to collect rice" Parā Taken replied, "Ananda, if there also you should meet with insult where would you go? Who has insulted you?" Ananda said, "Lord and master, people engaged in labour as slaves have insulted us" Then Parā Taken said, "I am like an elephant who has just reached the battle field, whose duty it is to sustain the flights of arrows which attack him from every side My duty is to bear all the insults which the heretics launch against me Ananda, be under no anxiety, these people will have finished insulting us after seven days, on the seventh day they will be silent The distress of Parā Taken cannot last for more than seven days

Māgandiyā, failing in her attempt to make Parā Taken leave the neighbourhood by having him insulted, began to consider, "This Sāmavati with her 500 attendants supports this Rahan Gotama, so I will contrive to ruin her" Accordingly, she told her uncle the Brahmin to procure eight live fowls and eight dead ones, and that she would wait on the steps of the palace till he came and told her they had been obtained As soon as they were procured, the Brahmin came and told Māgandiyā Māgandiyā directed the slaves who brought the fowls to put down the eight dead fowls, and to follow her with the eight live fowls, these she took to King Udena in the place where he drank spirits, and presented them to him When the king saw the live fowls thus presented to him, he asked who understood how to cook them well Māgandiyā said, "Your Majesty, Sāmavati knows how to cook them very nicely" Udena said, "Very

good, then let her cook them," and he told the slaves to take them to Sīmavati, and to tell her to cook them herself, without letting any one else touch them. These directions the slaves gave to Sīmavati. Sīmavati and her 500 attendants said, "We do not take life." This the slaves reported to the king. When Māgandiyā heard it, she cried, "Do you hear that, your Majesty? This Sāmavati will not as much as prepare your Majesty's food, and uses rebellious words. You can soon know whether she will take life or not. Let her have them to cook for the Rahan Gotama." The king, according to Māgandiyā's suggestion, sent a message to Sāmavati to cook the fowls and send them to Gotama. Then Māgandiyā bribed the king's messengers with gold and silver, and made them put down the live fowls and take the dead ones to Sāmavati, with the king's request that she should cook them and send them to Gotama. When Sāmavati saw the dead fowls she said, "Very good," and took them. The people who had taken the fowls, on being asked by the king what Sāmavati had said, told him that as soon as she heard that the fowls were for the Rahan Gotama, she was greatly delighted, and taking them, said she would cook them. Then Māgandiyā exclaimed "There, your Majesty, do you see this? This Sīmavati when she was told that it was for your Majesty, said, 'We do not take life,' but when she was told to cook them, and present them to the Rahan Gotama, —mark this, your Majesty,—she cooks them with the greatest delight." Though King Udena heard all this, he would not believe it, but bearing it patiently, kept silence.

When Māgandiyā found that the king would not

believe her, she began to consider what other plan she should have recourse to. It was the custom of the king to spend seven days at a time in each of the three Queens' Pyathats. Māgandiyā, knowing that on the following day the king would go to Sāmavatī's Pyathat, sent word to her uncle the Brahmin to procure a cobra, and after breaking its fangs, to bring it to her. The Brahmin, according to her directions, brought her the cobra with its teeth broken. Now, it was the habit of King Udena to take a lute with him to whichever Pyathat he went, so Māgandiyā put the cobra into the cavity of the lute, and fastened it up with a bunch of flowers; and the cobra remained inside the lute for two or three whole days. Then Māgandiyā said to the king, "Which Pyathat does your Majesty go to to-day?" The king replied, "I am going to Sāmavatī's Pyathat." Māgandiyā said, "Your Majesty, I had a dream last night which has much disturbed me, it is not right that you should go to Sāmavatī's Pyathat;" but the king would not listen to her, and went off to the Pyathat. Māgandiyā, unable to prevent him from going, followed him. The king on arriving at the Pyathat laid his lute on the bed, and said to Māgandiyā, "You may retire;" but Māgandiyā would not go away, and commenced walking up and down by the side of the bed. The king, after adorning himself with the different garments, flowers, and perfumes presented to him by Sāmavatī and her 500 attendants, put his lute at the head of the bed, and lay down. Māgandiyā pretending to be only walking about close to the bed, took the bunch of flowers out of the hollow of the lute, and threw it away. The cobra coming out expanded its hood, and Māgandiyā as

soon as she saw it cried out, ' O your Majesty ! how foolish you are Here is my dream fulfilled , look at the snake ' Then she began to scream out abuse at both the king and Sāravatī, and reviled the latter, saying, " You put the snake in the lute to kill the king , do you think that if the king died you would live ? " When the king saw the snake, he started and exclaimed, " Infamous as Sāravatī is, I gave no credence to Magandīyā when she accused her Before this, she made holes in the wall of her palace , again, she would not dress the fowls for me, and now she lets loose a snake in my bed " Saying these words he became furiously enraged Sāravatī seeing the king's anger exhorted her 500 attendants not to give way to anger against either the king or Magandīya, but to meditate only on the Saranagamana,¹ which has the power of preventing all evil emotions

The king, exasperated with Sāravatī, took a bow made of goats' horns, which required a thousand soldiers to string, and fixing a poisoned arrow, he had Sāravatī placed in front with her 500 attendants in a row behind her , then he let fly the arrow at the centre of her bosom , but owing to her loving disposition the arrow returned, and made as if it would enter the king's breast The king reflecting, " The arrow that I shot would have gone through a stone slab , yet it came back and made as if it would pierce my breast, trembled and said, " Even this lifeless arrow recognised the merit of Sāravatī, while I, a man, could not see it " Then he threw away the arrow, and falling at her feet raised his hands in adoration, and ad

¹ A formula of worship viz I worship Para I worship the Law I worship the priesthood

dressed her as follows, in poetry "Sāmaṇatī, I am utterly lost, everything is confusion, save me and be to me an object of worship" Saying this he made the humble gesture of apology Queen Sāmaṇatī, the disciple of Parā Taken, far from allowing the king to worship her, replied, "Do not worship me, I worship Parā Taken, do you also worship him It is you, great king, who should rather be an object of worship to me" The king said, "Let him then be my object of worship," and listening to the advice of Sāmaṇatī, he went for seven days in succession to Parā Taken, made offerings of rice to him, and heard the law He also offered to Queen Sāmaṇatī a magnificent present, but she said to him, "Your Majesty, I have no wish for gold or silver, give permission that Parā Taken and his Rahans may visit continually my Pyatkat" The king accordingly invited Parā Taken to visit continually the queen's Pyatkat, but Parā Taken replied, "It is not fitting that a Parā Taken should go continually to one palace only, for many people long to contemplate him"—"If this be so," said the king, "Lord and master, depute one of your disciples," and Parā Taken replied, "I depute my lord Ananda" The lord Ananda accompanied by 500 Rahans then visited Sāmaṇatī's Pyatkat, and ate their rice there, and the queen with her 500 female attendants, after listening to the law, presented to Ananda 500 garments, and each priest's garment was worth 500 (pieces of gold)

Māgandīyā, foiled in her designs, planned another stratagem One day King Udena was amusing himself in the garden, and Māgandīyā, blind to the state (of soul) in which she was, thought that this was a good

opportunity to complete her evil designs. She sent for her uncle the Brahmin, and told him to get a quantity of cloths, saturate them with oil, wrap them round Sīlavatī's Pyathat, and then set fire to them. The Brahmin accordingly procured a number of coarse cloths, washed them, and saturated them with oil, then he took them to Sīlavatī's Pyathat, and after wrapping them round all the door posts and the leaves of the doors, he closed all the entrances. Sīlavatī said to him, "Brother Brahmin, why are you wrapping these cloths round the doors?" and he replied, 'The king has given me strict orders to do so, but why I do not know.' Then he set fire to them and went away.

Sīlavatī exhorted all her attendants, saying "In the countless existences that have had no beginning it would be impossible to reckon the number of times that we have perished by fire, let us keep this in mind." When the walls of the palace were wrapped in flames and they began to suffer acutely, she repeated the *Kammathānā*,¹ and several of her attendants obtained the reward of *Anāgāmi*.² The assembly of *Rahans* said to *Parī Taken*, "Lord and master, while King Udena is engaged in his garden, Sīlavatī's palace is in flames, and the queen with her 500 attendants is being burned to death, what will be the future state of these handmaidens?" *Parī Taken* replied "Some are settled in the reward of *Sotapatti*,³ some in that of *Sakadāgāmi*,⁴ and others in that of

Forty sentences for repetition on

¹ The third state of an *Arīya*

² The first state of an *Arīya*

³ The second state of an *Arīya*

Anāgāmi.¹ These attendants do not die without future reward, the whole of them have received the right course. . All people who are subject to the influence of their former deeds are constantly experiencing both happiness and misery."

The intelligence of Sāmavati's Pyatkat being on fire was quickly carried to the king. Unable to reach it before it was burnt down, he remained surrounded by his nobles overwhelmed with grief. He thought of all the good qualities of Sīmavati, and came to the conclusion that it was the work of Māgandiyā. Knowing that he could not extort a confession from her by threats, he had recourse to artifice, and said to his nobles, "*From this day forth I shall be in comfort; many a time did Sīmavati plot my destruction; unsuccessful in her attempts she has now met her death; from this day forth my mind will be at rest, and I shall be able to sleep in peace. Whoever compassed the death of Sāmavati I call my friend.*" Māgandiyā, who was near the king when he said this, directly she heard it, exclaimed, "Your Majesty, could any one else have contrived this? It was I who managed the plot, and my uncle the Brahmin carried it into effect." When the king heard this he pretended to be greatly delighted, and said to her, "You are indeed a friend to me; I will reward you for this; send for the whole of your relations;" saying this he dismissed her.

king, having thus caught all Māgandīyī's relations, had a hole dug in front of him as deep as a man's waist, he then had all of them placed in it, and the hole filled up with fine earth. Above the hole he then had scattered a quantity of straw and rubbish which he caused to be set on fire. After all their hair and skin was burnt off, he had their bodies cut into pieces by passing iron harrows over them. With regard to Māgandīyī herself, strips of flesh were cut off with an excessively sharp knife from every part of her body, which, after being fried in oil, she was compelled to eat, and thus underwent the most horrible torture.

Such is the history of Māgandīyā.

One day the assembly of Rāhans said to Parī Taken, "Lord and master, the death of Sīmavatī and her 500 attendants who were all full of faith and love was by no means right"—"Beloved Rāhans," replied Parī Taken, "this Sīmavatī and her 500 attendants, a long time ago, when Brahmādatta was king of the Benares country, were the concubines of that king. One day when the king was playing in the river with his concubines, these finding themselves very cold, and wishing to warm themselves at a fire, began to search here and there for fuel or rubbish to make a fire with. Finding on the bank of the river a bush of dry reeds, and thinking it was only rubbish, they set fire to it and warmed themselves at it. Now, in this bush was a Paṭṭekabuddha practising the Nirodhasamāpatti¹. When the concubines saw the Paṭṭekabuddha in the flames, they cried out, 'We have burned the Paṭṭekabuddha, the king's teacher, if this come to the king's ears we

¹ Some supernatural attainment, a kind of ecstasy or trance

shall all be executed, let us go and get some fire-wood and burn him up altogether" So saying they brought a log each, and making a large heap, set fire to it, then thinking that the body would be entirely consumed and leave no trace, they went away. Although these concubines had no intention to take life, still their sin followed them in due course, for a thousand years they suffered in hell, and now at last their house has been set on fire, and they themselves have been burnt to death. Such is the account of the former sin of Samavati. As to the Paṭṭakabuddha, if a thousand cart loads of fuel had been burnt around him while he was in the state of Sammapiṭṭa, they would not have made him feel hot, on the seventh day he arose from the state of Nirodhasamapatti, and went his way in comfort."

Again the Rahans said to Parā Taken, "On account of what evil deeds was Khugguttarī a slave? And owing to what good deeds did she become so learned and acquire the three books of the Pīṭaka, from what good deeds is it that she is now settled in the reward of Sotīpatti?" Parā Taken replied, "Beloved Rahans, in a former existence of Khugguttarī there was a Paṭṭakabuddha in the country of Benares, who was rather hump backed. Khugguttarī when she saw him, laughed at his deformity, and for this sin she became hump backed herself. But when this same Paṭṭakabuddha came to the king's palace to receive alms of food, and the king poured an offering of cow's milk into his tṭabet, which completely filled it, Khugguttarī, seeing the Paṭṭakabuddha shifting the tṭabet from hand to hand on account of the great heat of the milk, immediately took off her arm eight nory

bracelets which she was wearing and making a stand for the pot with them, presented them as an offering. It was for this good deed that she has acquired such great wisdom, and is conversant with all the three books of the Pīṭaka. Those ivory bracelets are extant to this day in the Nandamula mountain cave. It was in consequence of her having formerly made offerings of rice to that Pakṣekābuddha that she is established in the reward of Sotāpatti. Such is the account of the results of the good and bad actions performed by Khugguttara before I became a Para.

‘ In the time of the Para Kassapa this Khugguttara was the daughter of a *Thuthe* at Benares. One day when she was very handsomely attired a Rahan who was on his way to contemplate the Para, came to her house and she said to him, ‘ Just reach me that little basket which is there ’. For this she became a slave ”

END OF THE STORY OF SAMAVATI AND KHUGGUTTARA

CHAPTER VI.

STORY OF KULLA-PANTHAKA.

THE most excellent Parā, when he was residing in the Veluvana monastery, preached the following discourse on the subject of *Kūlla-Panthaka*.

Formerly there lived in the Rāgagaha country the daughter of a *Thuthe* named *Dhanasetthi*. When she reached the age of maturity, her parents placed her in a *Pyatthat* with seven stages of roofs, and there, being a girl of strong passions, she committed herself with one of the slaves; then fearing that any one should know of it, they ran away to another village, and lived there together. She soon became in the family-way, and when her time was nearly come, she said to the young man, "My time is very near; I shall go to my parents' village to be confined." The young man, afraid that if he went there they would kill him, would not accompany her, so the *Thuthe's* daughter, thinking what unalloyed affection parents have for their children, set out without her husband; but he, as soon as he found that she had gone, followed her.

On the road the *Thuthe's* daughter gave birth to a son, whereupon she returned home without visiting .

her parents' village In consequence of the boy having been born on the road, they gave him the name of Panthaka.

Shortly afterwards, the *Thuthe's* daughter became again pregnant; and when her time was approaching, in the same way as before she started for her parents' village, and was a second time confined on the road. On this occasion also she gave birth to a son, whom she called Kulla-Panthaka, distinguishing her first-born by the name of Mahā-Panthaka

When Mahā-Panthaka grew up, he said one day to his mother, "I hear others calling people their grandfather, or grandmother, or uncle; but we have no grandfather or grandmother, or any relations at all." His mother replied, "My dear son, your grandfather and grandmother, and all your relations live in the Rāgagaha country; your grandfather is the *Thuthe* Dhanasēthi. In that Rāgagaha country my relations are very numerous."—"Then why, mother," said he, do you not go to the Rāgagaha country?" The *Thuthe's* daughter remained silent; at last, when he persisted in asking the question, she replied, "My son, your father was a slave in your grandfather's house, so I ran away from home and came to live here"—"If that be so," said the lad, "take my younger brother and me to the place where our grandfather and grandmother live"

The *Thuthe's* daughter took her two sons to the Rāgagaha country, and when she reached the city, she went with them into the Zayat¹ at the gate and stopped there. When the *Thuthe's* neighbours saw her, they went to him and said, "My lord *Thuthe's*

¹ A building for the accommodation of travellers.

daughter with her two sons is staying in the Zayat." The *Thathe*, thinking that if they were to remain in the Zayat, people would speak ill of him, took away his two grandchildren, and gave them gold and silver, food and clothes; but having no affection for his daughter, he sent her away, telling her to go and live where she had been always living. so she went away and lived with her slave-husband in the same place as before.

When the two lads had grown up under their grandfather's care, Mahā-Panthaka went with his grandfather to hear Parā Taken preach the law. The discourse was upon the future reward of the life of a Rahan, and Mahā-Panthaka, after listening to it, became desirous of entering the priesthood. He accordingly obtained his grandfather's permission, and became one of the Rahans of Parā Taken.

Performing the duties of a Rahan, Mahā-Panthaka acquired the sacred Pāli¹ of Parā Taken, and becoming a Paṇḍānga² at the age of twenty, after employing himself in the repetition of the *Kammattāna*³, he reached the state of a Rahanda.⁴

When Mahā-Panthaka had become a Rahanda, he made his brother Kulla-Panthaka a Rahan, and kept him steadily employed in the religious duties enjoined by Parā Taken.

Now Kulla-Panthaka, being wanting in ability

¹ The sacred language of the Burmese, a modification of Sanskrit

² A priest who is a proficient in the five duties, i. e. an ordained Rahan

³ Forty sentences for repetition.

⁴ An Ariya of the highest order

could not learn a verse although he studied it for the whole four months of the rainy season. The reason of this was that in the time of the Parā Kassapa, Kulla-Panthaka, who was then a Rahan, derided another Rahan for his want of ability in reciting Pāli; in consequence of which¹ the Rahan was so ashamed that he altogether gave up the study of the sacred language. On account of this evil deed, Kulla-Panthaka when he subsequently became a Rahan in the time of the present Parā was so stupid that he forgot everything he learned.

At last Mahā-Panthaka said to Kulla-Panthaka, "Oh, Kulla-Panthaka, you are a being who is unworthy to obtain his deliverance¹ in this church. You cannot learn a single verse in four months, therefore you are unfit for the duties of a Rahan;" so saying, he turned him out of the monastery.

At this time Mahā-Panthaka performed the duty of distributing the rice. One day the physician Givaka came to him and said, "My lord Mahā-Panthaka, I wish to present rice to-morrow to Parā Taken: how many priests are there?" Mahā-Panthaka replied, "Kulla-Panthaka is stupid and unworthy of deliverance; besides him, there are 500 Rahans." The physician then said, "Invite and bring with you to-morrow Parā Taken and the 500 of his assembly." Kulla-Panthaka thought within himself, "My elder brother, Mahā-Panthaka, has accepted the invitation for all the Rahans, but has excluded me. My brother's love for me is lost. I will no longer be a Rahan, but will re-enter the laity;" and he determined to quit the monastery the next morning.

¹ *I e.* Salvation, proximate or ultimate.

At daybreak on the following day, as Parā Taken was looking to see who was worthy of deliverance, he perceived Kulla-Panthaka. Then going to the arched entrance through which he would pass, he began to walk up and down. On his arrival, Parā Taken stood still: Kulla-Panthaka made obeisance to him. Parā Taken said to him, "Kulla-Panthaka, where are you going at this early hour of the morning?" He replied, "Lord and master, my brother has expelled me from the monastery; I am now going away to re-enter the laity."—"Kulla-Panthaka," said Parā Taken, "when your brother expelled you, why did you not come to me? When you become a layman again, what will you do? Remain with me." So saying, he stroked his head, and made him come with him to the monastery. When they arrived there, he placed him at the gate of the Gandhakutī¹ building, with his face to the east, and said to him, "Take this coarse cloth, and, rubbing it, repeat the words, Ragoharanam Ragoharanam,² and do not move from here." Parā Taken, after thus issuing his authoritative commands, gave him a coarse cloth of spotless white, and then went to the house of the physician Givaka to receive the alms of rice, accompanied by all his assembly.

Kulla-Panthaka, looking at the rising sun and rubbing the coarse cloth, continued to repeat "Ragoharanam, Ragoharanam." While repeating these words, the cloth as he was rubbing it lost its spotless white colour, and became soiled and dirty. Seeing this, he became impressed with the law of Samvega,³ and exclaimed, "This cloth only now so pure and white is

¹ The abode of fragrance

² Removal of dirt

³ Fear of the future consequences of sin

soiled and dirty This is my own state, soiled (by sin) Agun, this is the law of mutability, nothing is permanent" Saying thus he devoted himself earnestly to the repetition of the Vipassanā, and succeeded in acquiring it

Parī Taken even while he was at the house of the physician Givaka, knowing that Kulla-Panthaka had acquired the Vipassanā, dispatched an appearance¹ of himself to him, and preached to him the verses of the Kammattāna, "O Kulla Panthaka! Your body is full of minute atoms of dust which are lust, and the other evil passions These minute atoms of dust you must get rid of" In this way he preached to him the law just as if he had actually been present, and he continued, "My dear son, Kulla Panthaka, lust you must call Rāga,² atoms of dust you must not call Raga Raga means lust When you have got rid of the atoms of dust which are lust, you are fit to be a member of the Church of Parī Taken The same is to be said regarding anger and ignorance" At the close of the discourse upon these verses Kulla-Panthaka arrived at the state of a Rahanda possessed of intuitive knowledge, and Parī Taken knew that he had become a Rahanda

At this time the physician Givaka, before presenting rice to Parī Taken, was offering him water to wash his hands Parī Taken said, "Dīrakī, there is still in the monastery a Rahanda," and he remained with

¹ Gotama is said to have had the power of appearing in more than one place at once The expression always used is that found in the text here viz "To send off his appearance"

² The word is Rāga, of which Parī Taken is teaching the meaning "Rāga" in Sanskrit means both "dust" and "passion"

his *Tzabet*¹ closed. On this *Mahā Panthaka* said that there were no *Rahans* left in the monastery, but *Givaka* sent a slave to see whether any *Rahans* had been left there or not. At this moment *Kulla Panthaka* saying to himself, "My brother says there are no *Rahans* in the monastery," created a thousand *Rahans* and filled with them the whole of the buildings, and the mango garden, some putting on their garments, others engaged in repeating the scriptures, and all exactly like himself.

When the messengers arrived at the monastery they found all the buildings and the mango garden completely filled with *Rahans*. As soon as the messengers had returned with this intelligence to *Para Taken*, he said to them, "Go and invite the *Rahan Kulla-Panthaka* to come here." They went back and called out, "My Lord *Kulla Panthaka*, *Para Taken* has sent for you." The whole of the thousand *Rahans* replied, "I am *Kulla Panthaka*." The messengers returned to *Parā Taken* and said, "Lord and master, the whole thousand *Rahans* say that they are *Kulla Panthaka*, so we cannot find him out." *Para Taken* said, "Go and call him again, and seize the hand of the *Rahan* who first answers, then all the rest will disappear." The messengers accordingly went again to invite *Kulla Panthaka*, and laid hold of the hand of the *Rahan* who first of the whole thousand answered the summons, immediately all the other *Rahans* vanished. *Kulla Panthaka* accompanied the messengers to the house of the physician *Givaka*, and received his portion of rice in presence of *Parī Taken*.

¹ The vessel which the priests carry suspended round their necks and held under the left arm to receive the alms of food

When the repast was finished Parī Taken said to Givaka, "Take off Kulla Panthaka's Thābet, for he is going to preach the law." Givaka took off the Thābet, and Kulla Panthaka, seeing that such was Parī Taken's wish, began in a voice like that of the Lion King to preach the law of Anumodana,¹ reciting it from the three books of the Pīṭaka.

After Parī Taken had returned to the monastery in the cool of the evening, the Rāhans of the assembly were saying to each other, "Masters! Māhī Panthaka, not conversant with the mind of Kulla Panthaka, and unable in four months to teach him a single verse, drove him from the monastery. A Parī Taken being an unrivalled master of the law, has the power of conducting a man in a single morning to the state of a Rāhanda possessed of intuitive knowledge, and of rendering him acquainted with the three books of the Pīṭaka. "Wonderful indeed are the Parīs!"

Parī Taken said to them, "This is not the first time that I have afforded assistance to Kulla Panthaka," and he proceeded to relate as follows the events of times long gone by — "This Kulla Panthaka a long time ago was a young man of Benares, while engaged in the acquisition of learning and science in the Takka silī country, he attended on and supplied food to the teacher Disipamokkha, and received instruction from him for three months. Through his excessive stupidity, however, he failed to learn anything at all. His master, grateful for the care and attention which his pupil bestowed on him in serving him and supplying all his wants, redoubled his efforts, but all to no effect. At last, the youth, seeing that he could learn nothing,

asked his teacher's permission to leave. The master thinking himself much indebted to his pupil for his kindness to him, took him away into a forest to present him with a charm, and instructed him as follows : —“ *Ghaṭesi Ghaṭesi kim kāraṇa? tava karmaṃ ahaṃ jñāmi.*¹ Repeat this charm constantly so as never to forget it. It will always provide you with a living. Wherever you may happen to be, you have only to utter the charm.”

On the young man's return to Benares, he went to live with his parents.

brought the young man before him, he said, "Young man, give me the charm you were repeating last night"—"Take it, your Majesty," he replied, and he recited it to the king, who repeated it till he knew it. After learning it the king gave him a present worth a thousand (pieces of gold), as a teacher's fee.

At this time the prime minister, having formed the design of taking the king's life, went to his Majesty's barber and said to him, "When you shave the king's beard, take a very sharp razor and cut his throat. When I am king I will give you the post of prime minister." He made the barber a present worth a thousand [pieces of gold] and the man agreed to do it. Accordingly, after he had soaked the king's beard with perfumed water before shaving it, he took the razor and was just going to cut his throat when at that moment the king thinking of the charm, began to recite, "Ghaṭeṣi, Ghaṭeṣi kim kāranaṃ tava karmam aham gṇāmi." The barber no sooner heard this than he said, "The king has discovered my intention," then he dropped the razor and fell trembling at the king's feet. The king exclaimed, "Oh, you barber! do you not know I am the king?"—"Your Majesty," said the barber, "it was no plot of mine, the prime minister gave me a present worth a thousand [pieces of gold] to cut your Majesty's throat while I was shaving you, it was he who induced me to attempt it." The king said to himself, "It is owing to this young man who taught me the charm, that my life has been saved." Then he sent for the prime minister and banished him from the country, saying, "Since you have plotted against my life, you can no longer live within my territory." After this, he called

the young man who had given him the charm, and making him a very handsome present as an acknowledgment of his services, conferred on him the post of prime minister.

That young man is now *Kulla-Panthaka*, and the teacher *Disāpamokkha* is now *I the Parā*.

When he had finished preaching the law, the whole of the assembly who listened to it were settled in the reward of *Sotāpatti*.

END OF THE STORY OF KULLA-PANTHAKA.

CHAPTER VII

STORY OF THE PROBATIONER TISSA

ON another occasion Parā Taken, while residing in the Getavana monastery, preached a discourse with reference to the probationer Tissa

In the country of Ragagaha there lived a Brahmin named Mahāsena, who was a friend of the Brahmin Vanga, the father of Sāriputta

Sāriputta, taking pity on the Brahmin Mahāsena came and stood at the door of his house with the intention of assisting him. Mahāsena said to himself, "Here is Sāriputta, the son of my friend Vanga, who is evidently waiting to receive rice,¹ and I have nothing of which I can make him an offering." And he went and hid himself

One day, Mahāsena went to a *Thuthe's* house and received a cloth and a cup of cow's milk.² Then he thought he would make an offering to Sāriputta

¹ The word rice used in the text here and elsewhere means any kind of food offered to a priest though its literal meaning is cooked rice

² The printed text and manuscript vary greatly here the former says after presenting grass he received a cloth etc the latter says Going to a *Thuthe's* house to obtain alms of food for the day he received etc

her her share of the offering of milk in a golden cup

At the end of ten months she gave birth to a son. After the boy was washed, he was laid upon a coverlet worth a hundred thousand (gold pieces). Sāriputta was also invited, and had food presented to him. The child, lying on the coverlet and contemplating Sāriputta, thought to himself, "This priest is my old teacher, it is to him that I owe all this luxury. I must make him an offering."

At this moment the parents, wishing to name the child, took him up from the coverlet, but the child, wrapping his little finger in it, lifted it up with him. The parents tried to disengage his finger, but the child, retaining his hold of it, began to cry, so they took him up, coverlet and all, and laid him at the feet of my lord Sāriputta, the child, dragging the coverlet with his finger, placed it at Sāriputta's feet. When the child's parents saw this, they said to Sāriputta, "Lord and master, deign to accept the coverlet which the child offers you." He accepted it. Then the parents said, "Give a name to your disciple," and he called the child 'Tissa'.

On every occasion of their performing ceremonies for the child, the parents regularly invited Sāriputta, and supplied him with food. When the child was seven years old, his parents delivered him to Sāriputta, to be made a Rahan. Sāriputta, after teaching the little boy to repeat the *Kammattthana*, made him a Rahan. For seven days the child's parents made offerings of food to Sāriputta, and the whole of his priests, after which they retired to their home.

On the seventh day, the probationer Tissa accom

panied the Rahans to the Sīvatthi country, to collect alms. As soon as they arrived there, the inhabitants came out to meet the young probationer, and made him an offering of five hundred Putzos¹ and five hundred rice bowls.

One day, going to the monastery where the probationer resided, they made an offering of five hundred more putzos and five hundred more rice bowls, so that when he was only seven years old he had a thousand putzos and a thousand rice bowls, these he presented to the Rahans of the assembly. His acquiring all these things was the result of his having given a single coarse cloth and a cup of milk to Sūriputta at the time that he was the Brahmin Mahāsena. From that day the probationer was always called Pindapātika² Tissa.

One night, when it was very cold, the probationer, going to the monastery to perform his duties, saw the Rahans warming themselves at a fire. "My masters," said he, "why do you warm yourselves at a fire?"—"Probationer," they replied, "we are warming ourselves because it is so cold."³—"If you are cold," said he, "wrap yourselves in coverlets." The Rahans rejoined, "Probationer, you alone have power and can procure these things. Where can we get coverlets from?"—"If this be so," replied the probationer, "those of my masters who wish for coverlets, follow me." Hearing this, because they wanted to wrap themselves in coverlets, a thousand Rahans followed behind a probationer who was only seven years old.

¹ A waist-cloth of about 1 yard long and 1½ wide of silk or cotton. The national dress of the Burmese.

² He who lives on alms. See Burnouf Introduction p. 30C.

³ Fires are not properly allowed within monasteries in Burma!

The probationer, taking with him the thousand Rahans, went outside of the city, and as he visited house after house, the inhabitants as soon as they saw him, feeling the strongest affection for him, presented him with 500 coverlets. When he returned within the city, a wealthy *Thuthe* was selling coverlets in the bazaar. The slave who watched the shop went to his master and said, "Here is a probationer coming with 500 coverlets, hide yours, master." The *Thuthe* said, "Does the probationer take them when they are given to him, or does he take them without their being given to him?"—"He takes them when they are given," replied the slave—"Very good, then," said the *Thuthe*, "if so do not hide them, let them be." The novice, with the thousand Rahans, arrived at the place where the coverlets were spread out. The *Thuthe* who owned them no sooner saw the novice than he loved him as his own son, and made him an offering of 500 of the coverlets, making this invocation, 'Lord and master, the law which you know may I also know!' The novice preached to him the law of *Anumodana*¹.

Thus, this young probationer, obtaining in a single day a thousand coverlets, presented them to the thousand Rahans. From this time, they gave the novice the name of *Kambalāra Tissa*². It was in consequence of his having made an offering of a coverlet to my lord *Sariputta* on the occasion of his giving him the name of *Tissa*, on the seventh day after his birth, that when he was seven years old he received a thousand coverlets.

Therefore *Para Taken* preached, "Beloved Rahans,

¹ Joy

² Who procures coverlets

offerings made to the priesthood, though they be but small, are rewarded as if they were large. Large offerings receive still more excellent rewards."

The probationer, after learning the *Kammattikāna* from Parī Taken, went away and resided in a temporary monastery at a distance of 120 *yogas*. There, during the whole three months of the Lent, he practised the repetition of the *Kammattikāna*, and reached the stage of a *Rahanda*.

END OF THE STORY OF THE PROBATIONER TISSA

CHAPTER VIII

STORY OF MAHAKAPPINA THERA

ON another occasion, Para Taken, residing in the Getavana monastery, preached the following discourse on the subject of the priest Mahakappina —

At a place not far from Benares there lived a thousand weavers. At that time a thousand Pakkeka Buddhas,¹ who had been residing for eight months at Himavanta, came to the weavers' village. When the head man of the weavers' village saw the Pakkeka Buddhas, he invited them to come on the following day to receive offerings of rice. The Pakkeka Buddhas accepted the invitation. The head weaver then went round the village saying that he had invited the Pakkeka Buddhas, and that every house was to entertain one priest each. The villagers did as they had been directed, and the Pakkeka Buddhas, after receiving their rice, preached the law to them. The weavers then invited them to reside with them during the whole of the three months' Lent, and, the invitation being accepted, every weaver built one monastery apiece for the whole thousand, and each supplied one of them with food and all he required.

When Lent was over, the weavers made an offering to them of a thousand putzos¹ for tūngins². After making this pious offering, when they died, they became inhabitants of the Tīvatinsa Nat country, having enjoyed all the luxury of the Nats, they appeared in the time of the Parī Taken Kassajā among the Thugyucs³ of Benares. The head weaver was the son of the head Thugyuc, the other weavers were all sons of Thugyucs, and their wives daughters of Thugyucs, and they were all married to one another.

the Létsarue¹ and may I be called Anogā¹” Kasapa Parā Taken said, “Dīrakāma, it shall be fulfilled according to your prayer”

When the Tugyues, leaving that state of existence, died, they appeared in the Nat country. In the time of the Parā Taken Gotama, after dying and leaving the Nat country, they appeared in the country of Kukkuvatī. The head-weaver became King Mahākappina, his wife was the daughter of the great king of the Sāketa² country, owing to her resemblance to the blossom of Letsarue, she was called the Princess Anogā. When she grew up she became the wife of King Mahākappina. The other weavers were all sons and daughters of great nobles, and when they were old enough, they became the husbands and wives of each other.

King Mahākappina, enjoying all the luxury of royalty, began to say to himself, “I am a king, but I can neither see nor hear of the three jewels”³ Having a great longing for them, he sent off one day four of his nobles on horseback from the four sides of his city, telling them to go two or three yojanas and see if they could gather any tidings of Parā, the law, and the priesthood. The nobles, however, came back without having procured any intelligence.

One day, while the king, mounted on horseback, was amusing himself in the garden attended by a thousand nobles, there came by five hundred merchants from the country of Sāvattī. The king asked whence they came, and when he was told they came from Sāvattī,

¹ A species of nettle

² The city of Ayodhya or ancient Oude

³ Buddha the law, and the priests

he inquired if there was any news in their country. The merchants replied, "Your Majesty, the jewel is here, the Parī. The king, whose heart on hearing this was filled with faith and love, said to them, 'I will present you with a hundred thousand (gold pieces). Is there any further news?'—"The jewel, the law, is there," they replied. The king, moved with love and joy at this intelligence, added a present of another hundred thousand, and asked them if they had any more intelligence. They said, 'There is the jewel, the priesthood.' The king, on hearing this, again increased his present by a hundred thousand more. Then he said to his nobles, 'I will go to the place where are to be found the jewel, the Parī, the jewel, the law, and the jewel, the priesthood. I shall not return to my city, but shall go and become a Rahan in the society of Parī Taken.' The nobles said, "Your Majesty, we will all go with you and become Rahans." Then the king wrote on a leaf of gold and gave it to the merchants, the writing was this: "To the queen, from King Mahakappina. I am going to become a Rahan with Parī Taken in the Sivattū country. My queen, remain here and enjoy all the happiness and luxury of the royal power.' He also sent this message to her: "I have offered as an acknowledgment to these merchants three hundred thousand (pieces of gold), give it to them." The king, with his thousand nobles, then set off on their journey.

Parī Taken, on that day at daybreak, was looking out to see who was worthy of deliverance. Seeing that King Mahakappina and his thousand nobles would become Rahandas, he went out to meet him like the

Kakravartī king going to meet the kings owning the subordinate villages. After travelling twenty *yojanā*,¹ he stopped at the foot of a banyan tree on the bank of the *Kandapā* river, emitting from his person six dazzling rays of glory.

King Mahākappina, continuing his journey, came to a river. "What river is this?" he asked. "Your Majesty, this is the *Avarakkha* river," they replied. "What is the depth and width of it?" he asked. They told him "One *gavyūtī*¹ deep, and two *gavyūtis* wide"—"Are there any boats on this river?" he asked. They said, "There are none." Then the king said, "Nobles! our existence is but birth, old age, and death—we have come on account of *Parī* Taken, let the water bear us firmly." Then, fixing their minds steadily on the virtues of *Parī* Taken, they went on to the water on their horses and began to cross. The surface of the water became like a stone slab, not even the hoofs of their horses were wetted.

After King Mahākappina with his thousand nobles had reached the opposite shore, they came to another river. "What river is this?" asked the king. The nobles answered, "This is the *Nilavāha* river"—"What is the width and depth of this river?" he asked. "Half a *yojanā* wide, and as much deep," they replied. "Are there any boats on this river?" he asked. They replied, "There are none." The king said, "If that be so, our existence is but birth, old age, and death, reflecting on the virtues of the Law, let the water bear us firmly." Then fixing their minds steadily on the virtues of the Law, the king and his thousand nobles stepped on to the water on their horses. The surface

¹ A little more than three miles

Parī Taken began to look, saying to himself, "The¹as-people are possessed of great power and glory, will they become wearers of the Thabet and Tīngan?" Then he saw that King Mahākappina had formerly, when he was a weaver, made an offering of a Tīngan to a thousand Pakkeabuddhas, and that in the time of the Parī Kassapa he had made an offering of twenty thousand Tīngans to twenty thousand Rahans. Extending both his sacred hands, he called to them, "Come, Rahans! in order to terminate all suffering be earnest in performing good deeds." Becoming Rahans with the eight priestly utensils, they flew up into the sky, and alighting at the sacred feet of Parī Taken, remained in adoration.

The merchants entering the city of Kukkuwatī presented themselves before Queen Anogī, and said to her, "King Mahākappina and his thousand nobles have gone away to become Rahans with Parī Taken, he directs your Majesty to remain in the enjoyment of the royal power, and has instructed us to ask from your Majesty a present of three hundred thousand." Queen Anogī said, "Brothers, why did King Mahākappina give my brothers three hundred thousand?" The merchants replied, "He knew that there was the jewel, the Parī, he gave us a hundred thousand, hearing that there was the jewel, the law, he gave us a hundred thousand, and hearing that there was the jewel, the priesthood, he gave us a hundred thousand." The queen, saying, "The Parī, the law, and the priesthood are indeed the three jewels," made the merchants a present of nine hundred thousand (pieces of gold).

¹ The manuscript has "will these people become wearers of the powerful and glorious Thabet and Tīngan?"

The queen said to the wives of the thousand nobles, "King Mahāpappinā has gone away to become a tahanan with Parā Taken, I shall therefore likewise go and become a Rahan with Parā Taken." The wives of the nobles said, "We also will go with you and become Rahans with Parā Taken."

to Parī Taken they begged him to confer on them the condition of Rāhandas. Parī Taken gave them into the charge of the Rāhandamā Uppalavannī, who employed them in their duties as Rāhans, and they all became Rāhandamas.

END OF THE STORY OF MAHAKAPPINA-THERA

CHAPTER IX

STORY OF THE PROBATIONER PANDITA

On one occasion Parī Taken while residing in the Getaiana monastery preached the following discourse on the subject of the novice Pandita —

In former times, when the Parī Taken Kassapa attended by twenty thousand Rahans came to Benares, the people of the country entertained them hospitably and provided for their wants. The Parī Taken preached as follows: "In this country some people make offerings of their own goods, but they do not incite others to do so, these, in whatever state they may hereafter be, have abundance of wealth, but they lack relations and attendants. Some people incite others, but make no offerings themselves, these, in whatever state they may hereafter be, have numerous relations and attendants, but they lack wealth. Some people make offerings of their own goods and also incite others, these, in whatever state they may hereafter be, have abundance of wealth and numerous relations and slaves."

A Dīrikā,¹ after listening to this discourse invited Parī Taken to receive an offering of a repast on the

¹ Supporter of the priesthood

the offering, and share its reward " Mahāduta agreed to share it, saying, "Join with me" Then the Sakkī king laid out the rice and all the other provisions and imparted to them the exquisite flavour of the Nats, after this, he said, "Mahāduta, go and invite the Rahan who has been appointed to you according to your written agreement ' Mahāduta went and said to the registrar, "Give me the Rahan appointed to me according to my written agreement" The registrar said, "I forgot to put you in the list and all the Rahans are now provided for' Mahāduta, in great distress burst into tears Then the registrar said to him 'Parī Taken has just gone in at the door of the Gandhālū building, follow him, and give him an invitation ' The king, the ministers chiefs, *Thutkes* and others thinking Mahāduta a beggar, said to him, "Oh you Mahāduta he has not yet taken his repast, how can any offering of alms be made to you now? Go away ' Mahāduta said, ' I am going in to do homage to Parī Taken, then laying his head

thousand each. But Mahādūta, saying, "What shall I do with money?" would not give up the t^habet, and took it away with him. Though the king himself endeavoured to persuade him, he would not give up the t^habet, but carried it off. Neither the king nor any one else dared to take by force the sacred t^habet which Parī Taken had given with his own sacred hand. The king, saying to himself, "Mahādūta is a poor man, where can he get proper rice or provisions for an offering, so, when he has nothing to offer, I will take the t^habet and give Parī Taken an invitation." With this design he followed Parā Taken to Mahādūta's house, where the Sakka king, after arranging the rice and the other provisions, had prepared a place for the Parā Taken.

perfumed the whole country. The king, seeing the rice, milk, butter, and other provisions, exclaimed, "Never before have I seen food so full of fragrance!" Then, thinking that his presence would displease Mahāduta, and be a constraint upon him, he made obeisance to Parā Taken, and took his departure.

The Sakka king presented the provisions to Parā Taken. Parā Taken, when he had finished his repast, preached the Anumodana law and went away, and Mahāduta accompanied him with the sacred tablet on his shoulder. The Sakka king, after going part of the way with them, returned to Mahāduta's house, and as he stood outside at the door and looked up to the sky, there fell a rain of the seven jewels. Mahāduta's house was so filled with gold and silver that there was not even room for any one to go into it, all the water pot, baskets, and utensils of every description were filled with it. Mahāduta's wife, unable to get into the house for the gold and silver, had to remain outside with her little boy.

design to accept them" The king thought to himself, "The offering made only to day to Parī Taken has already terminated in its result I must see this gold and silver and jewels" Then he despatched a thousand carts for the treasure, and had it all piled up before him, the heap was as high as the top of a palmyra tree The king said to the inhabitants, "Is there such a treasure as this in the country?" and they replied, "There is not" Then the king gave Mahīduta all the treasure, together with the insignia of a *Thuthe*

Mahīduta, after attaining the rank of a *Thuthe*, asked the king to give him some land to build a house on and the king made over to him the site of the house of a former *Thuthe* Mahīduta, after having a quantity of wood and bamboos cut and stored ready for building his house, had the site cleared, digging up all the bushes and levelling the inequalities In the course of this work they came upon a large number of pots of gold, all with their brims touching each other, so numerous that the whole of his land was full of them The king, when he heard of this, said to him, "Mahīduta, this is owing to your great glory, you alone take them" Mahīduta, when he had finished building his house, during seven whole days supplied Parī Taken and all his Rahans with provisions, and made them magnificent offerings After performing numerous good works he died, and his next existence was in the country of the Nats

During the whole interval between two Parīs, Mahīduta lived in the enjoyment of all the luxuries of the Nats Leaving the Nat country on his death, in the time of this most excellent Parī Gotama, he

became an embryo of the family of Sāriputta in the Sāvattthi country

The *Thuthe*'s daughter from the day that she became pregnant¹ had a great longing to eat Ngagyng fish and rice. The reason of her having this longing was that she was desirous of making an offering of some Ngagyng fish and rice to Sāriputta and the Rāhans. She also wished to wear a putzo dyed in phany² and, remaining in the lowest position among all the Rāhans, to eat of the Ngagyng fish and rice. Her parents accordingly made an offering of Ngagyng fish to Sāriputta, and dressing her in a putzo dyed with phany supplied her with a portion of the priests' rice and Ngagyng fish in a golden cup. After having eaten in this way she felt contented. The reason of her thus desiring to wear the tūngan and partake of the priests' food was that her unborn child was destined to become a Rahan of the holy church.

After the lapse of ten months the young girl gave birth to a boy. She invited Sāriputta to come and name the child, and, after regaling him with rice she said to him, "My lord Sāriputta deign to bestow a name on your disciple." My lord Sāriputta named the child *Pandita*. When the child *Pandita* was seven years old he became a Rahan with Sāriputta, and his parents, on the occasion of his entering on his probation made offerings of rice for seven whole days. On the eighth day when my lord Sāriputta took the probationer *Pandita* into the village with him, the boy, on the road (seeing) a labourer digging a ditch, an arrow maker straightening his arrows over a fire, a car

¹ With the former *Majjaluta*

² Some kind of dye probably of a yellow colour

penter cutting wood with an adze, acquired the Kamma-*ttāna*.¹ Then he asked Sāriputta to let him go back to the monastery; when Sāriputta told him he might go back if he wished, he said, "Lord and master, if you bring me any offerings of food bring me some Ngagying fish." My lord Sāriputta said, "Probationer, where is any Ngagying fish to be procured?" The probationer replied, "Though it cannot be procured through the glory of my lord and master, it can be obtained through my glory." The probationer then went to my lord Sāriputta's monastery, and concentrating the wisdom that was in him, and meditating on his own condition, employed himself in repeating the law of the Rahans.² The Sakka king made the *Kātulokapāla* Nats keep watch. They kept at a distance all the discordant sounds of birds and beasts. The Nat of the moon and the Nat of the sun kept the sun and moon waiting; the Sakka king himself kept guard at the door of the building. The probationer *Pandita*, in the morning, before he had taken food, meditating on his state, obtained the reward of *Anāgāmi*. When Sāriputta came to the house of his relations, they made him stay inside the house, and gave him Ngagying fish to eat; and after washing the *thabet*, filled it again with similar provisions. Sāriputta, thinking the probationer must be hungry, made haste to go to him.

Pandita would become a Rahanda before taking food, and seeing that he would, conceived this project "Sīriputta is hastening with food to the probationer, before he arrives I will go and post myself at the door, and will ask Sīriputta the questions, the probationer Pandita, hearing them from within, will become a Rahanda" Parī Taken accordingly was standing at the door of the building when Sīriputta arrived. He asked him, "What have you brought?"—"Lord and master," replied Sīriputta, "I have brought food"—"To what does food conduct?" he continued "To the sensation of happiness," he replied "To what does the sensation of happiness conduct?"—"An object of sense," he answered "To what does the object of sense conduct?" he asked "The act of feeling," he replied¹

The meaning of these questions is this when a hungry man eats, as soon as he is full, a feeling of happiness is produced, and his person is beautified

When Parī Taken had asked these four questions, and the probationer from within the building had heard the law as revealed in the replies given to them by Sīriputta, he reached the stage of a Rahanda possessed of intuitive knowledge. Then Parī Taken said, "Sīriputta, let the probationer eat" Sīriputta went up to the door of the building and made a noise. The probationer came to the door, and taking the thibet, put it down, and began to eat Sīriputta. Sīriputta said, "Probationer, eat your rice," then he ate the rice and Ngagyng fish

In this way a probationer for the priesthood, only seven years of age, became a Rahanda

¹ Almost all this is omitted in the manuscript

The Sakka King dismissed again on their course the Nat of the sun and the Nat of the moon, and relieved from their watch the four *Katulokapāla* Nats

On the completion of this discourse the whole assembly was established in the reward of *Sotāpatti*

END OF THE STORY OF THE PROBATIONER PANDITA

CHAPTER X

THE STORY OF KISAGOTAMI

PARA TAKEN, while he was staying in the *Getavana* monastery in the *Sivatthi* country, preached the following discourse on the subject of *Kisigotami* —

In the *Sivatthi* country there was a *Thuthe* who was worth four hundred millions. One day all the wealth in his house turned into charcoal. The *Thuthe*, seeing this, was so wretched that he refused food and took to his bed. A friend of his, paying him a visit, seeing the miserable expression of his face, asked him why he was so wretched and he told him that he was miserable because all his wealth had been changed into charcoal. His friend, who was also a *Thuthe*, seeing that this had happened to him because he was not worthy of his wealth, said to him, "My friend *Thuthe*, have no anxiety about this, I know a plan, will you do as I direct?" The *Thuthe* said, "I will." Then, said his friend, "spread some mats in the bazaar, and pile up upon them all your wealth that has turned into charcoal, and pretend to be trafficking in it. People seeing the heap will say to you, 'O you *Thuthe*, every one else sells clothes,

tobacco,¹ oil, honey, and treacle, why do you sell charcoal?" Then you reply to them, 'I am selling my goods' If any one say to you, 'Why do you sell so much gold and silver?' say to them, 'Bring it to me,' then take what they bring in their hand, and in your hand it will become gold and silver If the person be a woman, marry her to your son, and making over to her the four hundred millions of your property make use of whatever she shall give you If it be a man, marry your daughter to him, and making over the property to him, make use of what he shall give you "

The *Thuthe*, following his friend's instructions, spread some mats in the bazaar, and piling upon them a large heap of his property which was turned into charcoal, pretended to be selling it Some people, seeing it, said, "Why does he sell charcoal?" Just at this time a young girl named Kisagotami, who was worthy to be the owner of the property, and who having lost both her parents was in a wretched condition, happened to come to the bazaar on some business When she saw the heap, she said, "My lord *Thuthe*, all the people sell clothes, tobacco, oil, honey, and treacle, how is it that you pile up gold and silver for sale?" The *Thuthe* said, "Madam, give me that gold and silver" Kisagotami, taking up a handful of it, brought it to him, what the young girl had in her hand no sooner touched the *Thuthe's* hand than it became gold and silver The *Thuthe* married the girl to his son, and having delivered over to her the whole

¹ The Burmese word rendered here tobacco means also drugs or "p gments" of any kind.

of the four hundred millions of his property, made use daily of the gold and silver which she gave him

Some time after this, Kīsāgotamī became in the family way, and when the ten months were completed, gave birth to a son. When the boy was able to walk by himself, he died. The young girl, in her love for it, carried the dead child clasped to her bosom, and went about from house to house asking if any one would give her some medicine for it. When the neighbours saw this, they said, "Is the young girl mad that she carries about on her breast the dead body of her son?" But a wise man thinking to himself, "Alas! this Kīsāgotamī does not understand the law of death, I must comfort her," said to her, "My good girl, I cannot myself give medicine for it, but I know of a doctor who can attend to it." The young girl said, "If so, tell me who it is." The wise man continued, "Parā Taken can give medicine, you must go to him."

Kīsāgotamī went to Parā Taken, and doing homage to him, said, "Lord and master, do you know any medicine that will be good for my boy?" Parā Taken replied, "I know of some." She asked, "What medicine do you require?" He said, "I want a handful of mustard seed." The girl promised to procure it for him, but Parā Taken continued, "I require some mustard seed taken from a house where no son, husband, parent, or slave has died." The girl said, "Very good," and went to ask for some at the different houses, carrying the dead body of her son astride on her hip.¹ The people said,

¹ The ordinary way of carrying children in Burmah and India

“Here is some mustard seed, take it.” Then she asked, “In my friend’s house has there died a son, a husband, a parent, or a slave?” They replied, “Lady, what is this that you say! The living are few, but the dead are many.” Then she went to other houses, but one said, “I have lost a son;” another, “I have lost my parents;” another, “I have lost my slave.” At last, not being able to find a single house where no one had died, from which to procure the mustard seed, she began to think, “This is a heavy task that I am engaged in. I am not the only one whose son is dead. In the whole of the Sāvattthi country, every where children are dying, parents are dying.” Thinking thus, she acquired the law of fear, and putting away her affection for her child, she summoned up resolution, and left the dead body in a forest; then she went to Parā Taken and paid him homage. He said to her, “Have you procured the handful of mustard seed?”—“I have not,” she replied; “the people of the village told me, ‘the living are few, but the dead are many.’” Parā Taken said to her, “You thought that you alone had lost a son; the law of death is that among all living creatures there is no permanence.” When Parā Taken had finished preaching the law, Kisāgotamī was established in the reward of Sotāpatti; and all the assembly who heard the law were also established in the reward of Sotāpatti.

Some time afterwards, when Kisāgotamī was one day engaged in the performance of her religious duties, she observed the lights (in the houses) now shining, now extinguished, and began to reflect, “My state is like these lamps.” Parā Taken, who was then in the Gandhakuṇḍi building, sent his sacred

appearance to her, which said to her, just as if he himself were preaching, "All living beings resemble the flame of these lamps, one moment lighted, the next extinguished, those only who have arrived at Nibbana are at rest ' Kisāgotami, on hearing this, reached the stage of a Rahanda possessed of intuitive knowledge

END OF THE STORY OF KISAGOTAMI

CHAPTER XI

STORY OF THE GIRL AND THE HEN

A FISHERMAN, an inhabitant of the village of Pandapura, close to the city of Svatthi, who was going to the city, found on his road, on the bank of the Amaravati river, some turtles' eggs. He took these to the house of a friend in the city of Svatthi, cooked them and ate them all but one, which he gave to his friend's daughter to eat. From that time the girl would not eat any other kind of food, but lived on hens' eggs which her mother used to cook for her. Afterwards, actuated by her greediness, the girl took to cooking them with her own hands and eating them every day.

devour the cat and all her progeny The girl dying, and leaving her condition of a hen, became a leopard, and the cat, when she died, became a deer The deer gave birth to a fawn, and the leopard, who bore her a grudge, ate them both up In this way, during the whole course of five hundred existences, each of them devoured the other in turn

In their last existence of all, one became a Bilūma,¹ and the other, a young girl in the Savatthi country Para Taken, who was residing in that country in the Getavana monastery, preached to them "No one must bear a grudge against another, saying, he has injured me, he has beaten me, he has robbed me, he has conquered me, for if he does this, hatred will be repeated successively in future existences, but if no grudge be borne, enmity subsides" At the end of the discourse, the Biluma, repeating the Sarazagamana,² and observing the five³ commandments, was released from her hatred, and the girl was established in the reward of Sotāpatti.

END OF THE STORY OF THE GIRL AND THE HEN

¹ A female Bilu a sort of ghoul

² The formula I worship Para the law and the priesthood

³ Against murder theft adultery, falsehood intoxication

CHAPTER XII

STORY OF THE HEN AND THE LITTLE SOW

At another time, Parā Taken, when he was in the Geta vana monastery, preached a discourse about a little sow

Parā Taken, one day, as he was entering the Raga gaha city to collect food, seeing a little sow at the gate of the city, smiled. My lord Ānanda asked him why he smiled. "Ananda" he replied, "I am smiling at this little sow." Ānanda asked him what there was about the sow to make him smile, and he said

"Ānanda, this little sow, in the time of the Para Kakusandha was a hen, hearing a Rahan in a forest monastery repeating the Vipassana Kammattina and knowing that it was the Law, she listened to it, from the influence of this good deed, when she died, she became the princess Uparī. The princess going one day to a certain place, saw there a heap of maggots, rejecting the Puluvakasāṇi, she obtained the first state of Dhyana. After her death she was born again in the Brahma country. Now this princess from an inhabitant of the Brahma country, has by transition to another existence, been changed into a little sow, it was this first noble deed. When, upon her death she leaves the condition of a sow, she will become the wife of the prime minister

¹ The highest order of beings superior to the Nats

When the Rahans heard Parā Taken say this, they acquired the law of Samvega¹

After the little sow died, and had become the wife of the prime minister residing in the village of Mahā punna, the Rahans, on their way to collect food, seeing her standing at the door of her house, said, "My masters, the little sow has become the prime minister's wife" The prime minister's wife no sooner heard this than she trembled, and becoming impressed with the law of Samvega, and acquiring the *Gāṭisāra* knowledge, which enables the possessor to see his past existences, she saw that in the time of the Para Kakusandha she was a hen, dying from the condition of a hen, she became in the time of the Parī Gotama the princess Upari, dying from the condition of the princess Upari, she existed again in the Brahma country, dying out of the Brahma country, she became a little sow, dying out of the condition of the little sow, she became the wife of the prime minister

The moment that she saw all this, she asked her husband's permission, and became a Rahan under the priest Panāpathaka, and directly after listening to the *Satipatthāna* law in the *Tissamahavihāra* monastery, she was established in the reward of *Sotāpatti*. After becoming a *Sotāpan*, and while she was living in the village of Gandhā, to which she had gone and where her relatives resided, she listened to the law of *Āsivisut* in the *Kamlakamahavihāra* monastery, and immediately afterwards became a Rahanda

END OF THE STORY OF THE HEN AND THE LITTLE SOW

CHAPTER XIII.

STORY OF THE PROBATIONER KULLA-SUMANA.

PARA TAKEN, while he was residing in the Pubbārāma monastery, preached a discourse on the subject of Anuruddha-thera.¹

Anuruddha-thera, at the time a country lad, having heard that the Parā Taken Padumuttara had advanced one of the laity to the condition of Devakakkhu, made offerings of rice for seven days to Parā Taken, and then made this prayer: "Lord and master, may I also in the time of the future Lord have the superior condition of Devakakkhu!" The Parā Taken Padumuttara, looking through a hundred thousand future cycles, saw that his prayer would be fulfilled, and prophesied, "From the present cycle a hundred thousand cycles hence, in the time of the Parā Taken Gotama, you will be Anuruddha-thera, having the faculty of Devakakkhu. The lad, on hearing the prophecy, held it in his mind just as if its fulfilment were to take place the very next day.

The Parā Taken Padumuttara having obtained

¹ The affix 'thera' to a name signifies priest or Rahan among the Burmese, but here means one of the disciples of Gotama.

Paramibbāna,¹ the Rahans to whom he had given the Kasina,² by which is acquired the Devakakkhu wisdom,³ remained engaged in the practice of it; the laity having made an offering of a golden pagoda seven yoganis in extent, provided with a thousand lamp-pillars, prayed for the rewards of their good works.

When the lad died, he had his next existence in the country of the Nats. After experiencing the vicissitudes of a hundred thousand cycles in the land of men, and in the land of the Nats, he was born among the poor at Benares in the present cycle. He became the slave of the *Thuthe* Sumana, and used to have to cut grass every day; he was named Annabhāra.

On one occasion as the Pakkeabuddha Upadittha arose from the practice of the Nirodha-samāpatti,⁴ and was looking to see whom he should deliver, this Annabhāra was coming from the forest after cutting grass there. The Pakkeabuddha, by means of his glory, flew through the sky and alighted beside him. When Annabhāra saw the Pakkeabuddha, he said to him, "Lord and master, have you obtained any rice?"—"Not yet," he replied. "Wait here, lord and master," said the boy, and throwing down his bundle of grass, he ran home and returned as fast as possible with the rice which he had provided for his own food. Putting this into the Pakkeabuddha's thabot, he prayed, "May I never again experience such poverty; never again hear the words 'there is none'!" The Pakkeabuddha said, "It shall be fulfilled according to your wish," and after preaching the law, went away.

¹ Same as Nibbana. Literally, the highest Nibbana.

² One kind of *Kammaṭṭhāna*, in Sanskrit, *Kṛtsna*.

³ A kind of trance or ecstasy.

Just at this time the Nat's daughter, who was guardian of the umbrella¹ of the *Thuthe* Sumana, called out three times, "Sādhu."² The *Thuthe* said, "Daughter of the Nats, why do you cry 'Sādhu'?" She replied, "Annabhāra, full of love for the *Paṭṭheka*-buddha, is making an offering of rice to him; that is why I cry 'Sādhu.'" The *Thuthe* asked Annabhāra whether he had made any offering that day, and he told him that he had offered his allowance of rice to the *Paṭṭheka*buddha Upadīṭha. Then the *Thuthe* said to him, "Take these thousand (pieces of gold), and divide with me the value of your offering." Annabhāra replied, "My lord, let me first ask the *Paṭṭheka*-buddha." Approaching the *Paṭṭheka*buddha, he said to him, "The *Thuthe* Sumana has asked me to share with him the offering I made to you of my allowance of rice; is it right that I should divide it with him?" My lord the *Paṭṭheka*buddha answered Annabhāra with this parable: "Dārakā, in a village of a hundred houses a single lamp is lighted; one comes from another house and lights his wick from it, and so from house to house the light is communicated, till it spreads through the village, and the brightness increasing illuminates it all. Dārakā, so also may this offering be diffused; divide it."

Annabhāra returned to the *Thuthe*'s house and said to him, "My lord *Thuthe*, I present you with a share of my offering; deign to accept it." The *Thuthe* accepted it and offered him a thousand (pieces of gold), but Annabhāra said, "If I receive money it will seem

¹ The umbrella is one of the chief insignia of rank among the Burmese

² An expression answering to "good!" "bravo!"

as if I sold the offering, I cannot take it, receive simply your share of the offering" Then the *Thuthe* said, "Brother Annabhara, from this day forth, do no more work, but live in comfort and receive this present as a token of my respect" So saying, he presented him with a great number of articles of comfort and luxury, clothing and food Annabhara knew that this was the result of the offering he had made that very day to the *Paṭṭhabuddha* as he arose from the *Nirodha samāpatti*

The king sending for Annabhara, procured from him a share of his offering, and conferring upon him immense wealth, raised him to the rank of a *Thuthe*

The *Thuthe* Annabhara lived for the rest of his life in great friendship with the *Thuthe* Sumana, and on his death appeared in the country of the *Nats*

After passing many existences in this way, some in the land of men and some in the land of the *Nats*, in the time of the Para Taken Gotama he became the son of the Sakya King in the Kapilavasthu country, younger brother of the father of Para Taken, he was called Prince Anuruddha, and was possessed of great power and glory

One day this Prince Anuruddha was gambling with some children for cake, having lost, he sent some slaves to his mother to procure some, and his mother sent him a golden basket full of it Continuing to lose he sent several times again to his mother for more cake At last his mother sent word that there was no more The slaves told him that there was no more, but the Prince not comprehending this sent the slaves back to get some His mother, thinking that

her son did not understand that there was no more, in order to make him aware of it, washed the golden basket quite clean, put the cover on, and sent it back to him empty. In consequence of the great glory of Prince Anuruddha, the Nats filled the golden basket with cake impregnated with the delicious flavour of the Nats. When the slaves brought the basket to the prince, it was no sooner opened than the whole country was perfumed with the Nats' cake. The Nats, knowing that Prince Anuruddha, when he was the slave Annabhara, had made an offering of rice to the Pakkeabuddha Upaditha, and had at the time prayed that he might not hear the words, "there is none," had not the power to remain idle, but filled the golden basket for him with cake. The delicious flavour of the cake was such that if the tip of the tongue only touched it, a thousand nerves tingled with delightful sensations. Prince Anuruddha said to himself, "My mother, dearly as she loves me, did not give me every day the 'there is none' cake, it is only to day that I have had the 'there is none' cake to eat."

The prince's mother said to the slaves who took the golden basket, "Did you find any cake in the golden basket after you had conveyed it?" They replied, "Lady, the basket was quite full, we never before saw an empty basket become full of cake." When she heard this, she thought, "Owing to some former good deed and prayer of my son, the Nats must have put the cake in the basket."

Prince Anuruddha said to his mother, "My honoured mother, you never before gave me any cake like this, henceforth only give me the 'there is none cake.'" His mother accordingly from that day, when

ever he asked for cake, used to cover up the empty basket and give it him, and the guardian-Nats of the kingdom never failed to fill it with cake. In this way Prince Anuruddha, living at home and never understanding the words "there is none," used to eat nothing but Nat's cake.

Soon after this, Prince Anuruddha, Prince Bhaddiya, and Prince Kimbila were talking together about the place where rice was produced. Prince Anuruddha, who had never seen the cultivation in the fields, or the pounding of the grain in the mortar, said that the rice was produced in the pot. Prince Kimbila, who had seen the grain put into the granary, said it was produced in the granary. Prince Bhaddiya, who had noticed that the rice pots were put on the fireplace, said that it was produced in the fireplace.

Prince Anuruddha's elder brothers instructed him upon the duty of marriage, but the prince said, "I have no desire to marry," and he went to his mother and, having asked her permission, became a Rahan under Parī Taken. He was called Anuruddha there, and having acquired the Devakakkhu wisdom, he could see and comprehend a thousand worlds just as though he were looking at a Shishā fruit in his hand. He began to consider what good work it could be through which he had acquired the Devakakkhu wisdom, then, looking with the eyes of a Nat, he saw his prayer to the Parī Taken Padumuttara, looking again at his different existences, he saw his former offering to the Paṭṭakabuddha Upadīṭṭha at the time when he was the slave called Annabhūra of the Thūthe Sumana, in the Benares country, and used to cut grass. Hereupon he began to think, "Where is now my

friend the *Thu*the Sumana, with whom I shared the offering I made to the *Pa*kkekabuddha *Upa*dittha when I was Annabhāra, and who made me such a handsome acknowledgment?" Taking a survey by means of his *Devakakkhu* power, he saw that he was now *Kulla-Sumana*, the son of *Mahāmunda*, in the village of *Munda*; then looking to see whether his friend would derive any advantage from his going to see him, and finding that he would become a *Rahanda*, he flew up into the sky, and alighted at *Mahāmunda*'s door.

Mahāmunda, as soon as he saw *Anuruddha*, in consequence of having been his friend in a former existence, asked him to come into his house, and, after setting rice before him, said, "Lord and master, remain here during the three months of Lent." *Anuruddha* agreed to do so. *Mahāmunda* made offerings to him during the whole of Lent, of butter, treacle, and other food of pleasant flavour. *Anuruddha* said to him, "*Dāra*kā, I have no young disciple to attend upon me."—"Lord and master," replied *Mahāmunda*, "make my son *Kulla-Sumana* a *Rahan*, and let him attend upon you." My lord *Anuruddha* said, "Very good, *Dāra*kā;" and the very moment he laid the razor on *Kulla-Sumana*'s head to make him a *Rahan*,¹ the boy became a *Rahanda*.

When Lent was over, *Anuruddha*, wishing to contemplate *Parā* Taken, took *Kulla-Sumana* with him and flew across the sky. Alighting at the *Ku*fi monastery in the *Yimavanta* forest, he walked up and down during the evening and midnight watches, when he was suddenly seized with colic. The probationer, seeing from his face that he was suffering, said to

¹ All priests in Burmah shave the head and face completely.

him, "Lord and master, you look ill. What ails you?"—"Probationer," replied my lord Anuruddha "I am suffering from colic."—"What medicine," asked the boy, "will cure it?"—"Probationer," he replied, "if I can drink some water from the Anavatatta lake, I shall be cured."—"If that be so," he said, "I will go and procure some for you." Then Anuruddha told him, "If you draw water from the Anavatatta lake, the dragon Pannaga there is very haughty; tell him you come from me." The young probationer, after making obeisance to Anuruddha, flew away into the sky, and arrived at the Anavatatta lake, which was five hundred yoganas distant. The dragon Pannaga was sporting with the she-dragons in the water; when the dragon saw the young probationer, he exclaimed, "This son of Munda has let fall on my head the dirt from his feet;" then in a rage he spread out his hood, and covered with it the whole Anavatatta lake, which was fifty yoganas in extent, in order that he should not draw any water from it. The probationer said to him, "O king of the dragons, my teacher Anuruddha is ill with colic, I wish to draw a pot of water for medicine." Then he continued in poetry, "My lord dragon, possessed of great glory, endowed with great power, listen to my words, and give me one pot of water; I come for medicine." The dragon-king, when he heard this, replied in poetry, "Probationer, in the eastern quarter there is a river called the Ganges, which flows into the sea; take some of the water of that river." On this, the probationer began to reflect, "This dragon, of his own will, will not give me any;" then, thinking he would say something to overcome the dragon, and that he

could then draw the water, he said, "My lord dragon, my master Anuruddha sent me to draw some of the Anavatatta water and no other, therefore, I am here to draw it." The dragon-king replied, "Probationer, you are more capable than other young men; I like your speech. As for me, I will not give you any; if you can draw it, do so." The probationer said to himself, "I will display the power of the church of Parā Taken and draw the water, and moreover, will make the Nats and Brahmas see how a combat is carried on with me." With this thought he ascended to the six stages of the Nat country, and the sixteen stages of the Brahma country. The Nats and Brahmas, when they saw the young probationer, paid homage to him, and said, "My lord probationer, what occasion brings you here?" He said to them, "Come and see my combat with the dragon Pannaga in the Anavatatta lake." So saying, he descended with all the Nats and Brahmas, and fluttering in the sky over the Anavatatta lake, he said three times to the dragon, "My lord dragon, I am going to draw some water for medicine." The dragon replied, "For my part, I will not give you any; if you can draw it, do so." Saying these words, he remained with his hood expanded, covering up the Anavatatta lake. The Nats and Brahmas from the six stages of the Nat country and the sixteen stages of the Brahma country, completely occupying the whole of the sky, were looking on. A comparison is this: they were like mustard seed in a mortar. They extended over all the Anavatatta lake, and the sky was entirely filled up with them; there was no space left. At this moment the probationer, assuming the appearance of the chief Brahma, descended from

a height of twelve yoganās in the sky, and trod right upon the head of the dragon, a column of water as thick as a Palmyra tree rose up, the probationer, remaining up in the sky, filled a water-pot from it, and carried it away

The Nats and Brahmas extolled this exceedingly, crying out "Sīdhu!" and the dragon-king Pannaga, thus put to shame before all the Nats and Brahmas, was violently enraged and set off in pursuit of the probationer, crying out that he would tear open his breast, and taking him by the legs, throw him to the other side of the Ganges

The probationer presented the Anavatatta water to my lord Anuruddha. The dragon came and said, "Lord and master, the probationer has taken water which I never gave him, do not use it." The probationer said, "Lord and master, I did what was in my power to take it, because the dragon-king told me to take it if I could, therefore make use of it." My lord Anuruddha, reflecting that the probationer, who was a Rāhanda, could not tell a falsehood, drank the Anavatatta water, and was immediately cured of his complaint. Then the dragon Pannaga said to him, "Lord and master, the probationer has put me to shame before all the Nats and Brahmas, I shall therefore tear open his breast, and dragging him by the legs, hurl him to the other side of the Ganges." My lord Anuruddha replied, "Dragon-king, the probationer is possessed of great glory, if he fights with you, you, a dragon, can do nothing. Make an apology to him." The dragon-king, seeing the power and glory of the probationer, and having only spoken these words from a sense of shame, did as Anuruddha told

him; making the obeisance of apology, he said, "My lord probationer, henceforth, whenever you want any Anavatatta water, deign to say, 'there is my disciple, the dragon Pannaga.' I will convey the water to you." So saying, he paid homage and left.

Anuruddha and the probationer went together to Parā Taken. Parā Taken, seeing Anuruddha coming, sent some Rahans to relieve him of his *thabet* and other utensils

When the probationer reached the Getavana monastery, the Pañkāṅgas¹ and the probationers who were Puthugganas² began to stroke his head, ears, nose, and so forth, and pulling him about by the arms, asked him if he did not long for his father and mother. Parā Taken seeing them behaving in this way, in order to let them know the glory of Kulla-Sumana, called to Ānanda, and said to him, "Ānanda, I wish to wash my feet with some Anavatatta water; send for all the Pañkāṅgas and probationers, and let any one of them who is able to draw the water go and procure some." Ānanda sent for the five hundred Puthuggana-probationers, and telling them that Parā Taken wished to wash his feet with Anavatatta water, ordered them to go and procure it. Out of the whole five hundred probationers, he could not induce a single one to go. Some said "We cannot do it;" others said, "This is not our duty;" even the probationers who were Rahandas said, "We do not know how to draw it," the Puthuggana-Rahans also declared their inability for the task. Then my lord Ānanda said to Kulla-Sumana, "Probationer, Parā Taken wishes for some Anavatatta water to wash

¹ Proficient in the five qualifications.

² One who has not attained the state of an Ariya.

his feet, go and draw some" The probationer, making obeisance to Parā Taken, said, "Do you require me to draw some Anavatatta water for you?"—"Probationer, draw me some," replied Parā Taken. My lord Ananda gave the probationer the golden vessel which was the offering of Visakhā, and which held sixty measures¹. The probationer took it in his hand and flew straight through the sky to Himavanta. On his reaching the Anavatatta lake, the dragon Pannaga directly he saw him, came forward to meet him. "My lord probationer," said he, "when you have such a disciple as I am, why should you come here yourself?" With these words he took the golden vessel from him, and after filling it with Anavatatta water, he put it on his own shoulder, and saying "Proceed, my lord probationer," followed him as his attendant. After allowing himself to be followed thus for a short time, the probationer said, "Dragon-king, remain behind," and taking from him the golden vessel, and carrying it by the ornamental rim, he flew through the sky to his destination.

Parā Taken, when he saw the young probationer approaching, said to the assembly of Rahans, "Look at the beautiful appearance of the youthful novice" Kulla Sumana, putting down the golden vessel in front of Parā Taken, made obeisance to him. Parā Taken said to him, "Probationer, what age are you?"—"Lord and master," he replied, "I am seven years old." Parā Taken said, "Probationer, from this day forth be a Paṇḍita," and he conferred upon him the degree of a Paṇḍita by inheritance. The degree of a

¹ One of these measures of water would be quite as much as an ordinary man could lift.

Pāṅkāṅga by inheritance is this when Para Taken says with his own mouth "Receive this inheritance from me," the state of a Pāṅkāṅga is obtained without repeating the Kammavākya¹ In Para Taken's church the probationers Kulla-Sumana and Subhaga, these two, obtained the degree of a Pāṅkāṅga when they were only seven years of age

The Rahans in the assembly began to talk about the young probationer Sumana becoming a Pāṅkāṅga at the age of only seven years Para Taken overhearing them, said, "Rahans my dear sons, whoever in my church young though he be, may have performed good works shall become celebrated" Then he continued in poetry, "Rahans whatever young Rahan shall really and truly exert himself in my church the church of the Para, this Rahan, like the moon emerging through a gap in the thick clouds shall illumine this world with his splendour"

At the conclusion of this discourse all the assembly who listened to it were established in the reward of Sotapatti

END OF THE STORY OF THE PROBATIONER KULLA SUMANA

¹ Ordination service

CHAPTER XIV

STORY OF THE NAT-KING NAGADATTA

At the time when Parā Taken was staying at the Getavana monastery, my lord Sivali, with five hundred Rahans, went on a journey to Himavanta. When they arrived at the Gandhamādana mountain, the Nat-King Nāgadatta, seeing my lord Sivali approaching, was greatly delighted, knowing that his coming would be for his good hereafter. From the day of his arrival up to the seventh day he supplied them with food, on the first day, rice cooked in milk, on the second day, curdled milk, on the third day, roots, on the fourth day, the five preparations of milk, on the fifth day, Katumadhu,¹ on the sixth day, a variety of different kinds of food, on the seventh day he supplied food to which had been imparted the delicious flavour of the Nats. The Rahans, observing the endless amount of food offered by the Nat-King, said, "We see no milch cows belonging to the Nat-King, we see no store of milk or curds, no rice cooking on the fire, how is it that such endless offerings of all kinds of preparations of milk are made?"

¹ This word means the food which a priest may eat after noon which comprises oil, honey, treacle, and butter

Then they asked this question, in poetry, saying, "King of the Nats, all kinds of milk-food are here in abundance; how are all these kinds of milk-food obtained? What kind of good work did the Nat-King perform in a previous state of existence? Tell us, King of the Nats; we will listen" In reply to the question thus put to him by the Rahans, the Nat-King answered in poetry, "My lords, in the time of the Parā Kassapa I made offerings of milk to the assembly of Rahans. The reward of the offerings I made in those days is now being fulfilled." Then the Nat-King Nāgadatta proceeded to relate to the Rahans his offering in a former state of existence: "In the time of the Parā Kassapa I was a fellow-man. When I had reached the span of that existence, I died, and became Nāgadatta, living on the Gandhamādana mountain, in a golden palace with a thousand daughters of the Nats surrounding me, and possessed of great power and glory. On account of the offerings of milk which I made to the assembly of Rahans, I have been in possession of endless wealth and luxury from the time of the Parā Taken Kassapa to the time of the Parā Taken Gotama." Then he continued in poetry, "The whole surface of the earth, with its mountains and its seas, I can make overflow with milk. Whatever kind and whatever quantity of milk-food I wish, I find to my hand. Whatever I may wish to give away, and in whatever quantity, I am in the same way abundantly supplied with."

My lord Sivali, after causing the Nat-King Nāgadatta to perform good works for the whole of seven days, left the Gandhamādana mountain and returned

to the *Getavana* monastery After making obeisance to *Parā Taken*, he gave him an account of King *Nāga datta* *Parā Taken* preached to the assembly who were listening to the Law the *Nagadatta vatthu*,¹ as follows —

‘At the time when the *Para Kassapa* appeared in the cycle when men’s lives reached the span of twenty thousand years, and was preaching the Law, King *Nagadatta* listening to the Law, made offerings for the whole of twenty thousand years to the assembly of the *Rahans*, of milk, butter, and so forth On his death he became the Nat King of great power and glory, living in a golden palace on the *Gandhamādana* mountain, in *Himavanta* and surrounded by a thousand daughters of the Nats King *Nagadatta*, when he has come to the end of his span of life on the *Gandhamadana* mountain, will exist again in all the stages of the Nat country from *Katumaharāj* to *Parammita vasavatī*² In that *Parammitavasavatī* he will develop the first state of *Dhyana*,³ and on his death will reach the *Maha Brahma* abode, and have the brilliancy of glittering gold or the ruby After completing there countless cycles, and developing the second state of *Dhyana*, he will reach the *Abhassara* abode Completing there eight cycles, and developing the third state of *Dhyana*, he will reach the *Subhakkitsna* abode

¹ Each of these stories is called in Pali a *Vatthu* or in Burmese *Wutthu* supposed to be the Sanskrit *vṛtta* an event *vṛttanta* a story The Sanskrit *vastu* the subject of a poem etc however is the only word that could in Pali assume the form of *vatthu* or *vattū*

² There are altogether six stages of the Nat country as mentioned above

³ A certain attainment or state of mind of which there are five degrees

Completing there sixty four cycles, and developing the fourth state of *Dhyāna*, he will exist again in *Brihat-phala*, and the other abodes of the fourth state of *Dhyāna*. Developing there *Vipassanā*,¹ he will attain to the reward of *Anāgami*, and will exist again in the *Avriha* abode. Completing his span of life in the *Avriha* abode, he will reach in succession, by means of the state of *Uddhamsota*, the five *Sudassana* abodes. After this, he will be established in the *Akanītha* abode. When his life there is ended, he will become a *Rahanda*, and reach *Paranibbana*. There will be six other persons who will exist in the same way as the Nat King *Nāgadatta*, viz. *Maharatha*, *Kullaratha*, *Anegavanna*, *Sakka*, *Visākha*, and *Sudatta*, these, with the Nat King *Nagadatta*, make in all seven persons. These seven persons all take delight in good works. They take delight in them in all states of existence. Commencing from their present existence, in the order of their future existences, reaching in succession the countries of the Nats and the Brahmas, they will finally attain *Paranibbāna* in the *Akanītha* abode.

“Whoever shall do nothing but good works will receive nothing but excellent future rewards.”

Parī Taken preached as follows, in poetry, to those persons who, like the Nat-King *Nagadatta*, had in former existences made excellent offerings to the *Rahans* —

“Whatever layman shall really and truly repeatedly perform many good works, the most excellent happiness shall be his, you should therefore make offerings

¹ A kind of wisdom enabling the possessor to make extraordinary discoveries (Judson.)

because it is most excellent Those who make offerings with gentle hearts to the priests, who are the field where are to be sown the seeds of good works full of long suffering, shall have all their desires fulfilled Even like the Nat King Nāgadatta their desires shall be fulfilled ”

END OF THE STORY OF THE NAT-KING NAGADATTA

CHAPTER XV.

STORY OF THE FOUR *THUTHE'S* SONS.

It was said that the Nat-King Nāgadatta, after performing many good works, enjoyed a life which extended from the time of Kassapa Parā to the time of Gotama Parā; they who did evil deeds, when they suffered for them, did their lives also extend from the time of the most excellent Parā Kassapa to that of the most excellent Parā Gotama? It was in reference to this that Parā Taken, when he was in the *Getavana* monastery, related the story of King Pasenadikosala as follows:—

“King Pasenadikosala one day, superbly adorned and mounted on his elephant Pūrika, attended by his retinue, made a tour round his city, keeping it on his right hand. While he was making his circuit, a man’s wife, who was in a *Pyathat* with seven roofs, opened a window and looked out. When the king saw her, she seemed like the moon entering an opening in a thick bank of clouds, and he was so inflamed with desire that he very nearly fell off the back of his elephant.

“On returning to his palace, after completing the circuit of his city, the king asked one of the nobles, who was his intimate friend, whether in such-and-such

a place he had seen a Pyathat, and he replied that he had seen it. 'Whom did you see there?' the king asked. 'I saw a woman in the Pyathat,' he replied. Then the king sent him to inquire whether the woman had a husband or not. The nobleman went and made inquiries, and returning told the king that there was a husband. Hearing this the king told him to go and bring the husband. The nobleman accordingly went to the man and said, 'The king has sent for you.' The young man thought to himself, 'I shall be destroyed on account of my wife,' but not daring to oppose the king's commands, he went to the palace. When the king saw him, he said, 'Remain always in close attendance upon me.' The man said, 'Let me make an offering of tribute only.' The king said, 'I do not want your tribute, from this day forth remain constantly in close attendance upon me.' So saying he gave him a *da*¹ for a weapon. The king's design was to kill the young man as soon as he should be guilty of any offence, and then take his wife, but the young man, in fear for his life, was most unremitting in his attendance.

"When the king found that the young man was free from all fault he called him and said, 'Here! young man! at a distance of a *yogana* from here there is a river, procure from thence a *Kamuttara* water lily and some *Arunavati* earth and bring them here in the cool of the evening, if you fail to do so, I shall punish you.' The young man being a slave among many, and therefore unable to refuse, agreed

¹ The national and characteristic appendage of the Burmese a knife varying in size and weight according to the purpose for which it is required.

to do it. The Kamuttarā water-lily and the Arunavati earth were only to be obtained in the country of the dragons. The young man thought, 'What shall I do to procure the lily and the earth?' In fear of his life he ran home as fast as he could, and asked his wife if the rice were cooked; his wife said that it was then being boiled; not able to wait till it was ready, he took the dripping rice out with a ladle and put it into a cup together with some meat; then he started off in all haste on his journey of a *yogana*. As he flew along, the rice was steamed.

"When the young man arrived at the bank of the river, he first laid aside the top part of the rice and then began eating. Just at this time he saw a man who wanted something to eat, and he gave him the top part of the rice which he had laid aside, and made him eat it. The young man, after finishing his repast, threw the remains of the rice into the river to feed the fish, and then cried out with a loud voice, 'May the Nāga-Galon¹ Nat-King, who watches this river, help me; the king wanting to fix a fault upon me has sent me to procure a Kamuttarā water-lily and some Arunavati earth. I have made an offering of rice to him who wanted it; the thousand rewards of this offering, as well as the hundred successive rewards of the offering I made to the fish and all the other creatures in the river, I divide with the Nat-King. Procure for me a Kamuttarā lily and some Arunavati earth.' The dragon who guarded the river hearing this, assumed the guise of an old man, and approaching the young man, begged a share of the offering from him; the young man said, 'I share it with you.'

¹ A flying dragon.

Then he gave him one of the Kamuttarā water lilies, and some of the Arunavati earth, which were in the dragons' country

"At this time the king was thinking to himself, 'Some people possess a charm, they have some kind of wisdom and ability so that I cannot fix a fault upon them' Reflecting thus, he closed the door, although it was only morning. The young man arrived at the king's bathing time, 'Open the door,' he cried, 'I come by the king's order' But the door, by the king's command, remained closed. The young man finding they would not open the door, thought to himself, 'It is a difficult thing for me to save my life' Then he placed the Arunavati earth upon the door-post, and hung the Kamuttarā lily upon it, and shouted with a loud voice, 'Take notice all, that I have returned from executing the king's commission. The king wanting to kill me, though guilty of no fault, sent me on this errand' After this, he thought, 'Where shall I go now? The Rahans have gentle hearts, I will go and sleep in the monastery. People when they are happy feel no love for the Rahans, but when their hearts are heavy, they like to take refuge in a monastery, I too can find no other asylum' With these reflections he went to the monastery and slept there

"King Pasenadikosala could not sleep, the whole night he was thinking of the woman, and devising how he could kill the young man and get possession of her

"The people in hell who have been immersed in the copper pot of sixty yojanas in extent, boiling and bubbling like the rice grains in a cooking pot, after thirty

thousand years reach the bottom of the pot; and, according to what one of the scriptures says, after another thirty thousand years they rise again to the edge; these people in hell then put up their heads and endeavour to repeat some sacred verses; but they are only able to utter a syllable at a time, and sink down again into the hell-pot.

At this time the king, unable to sleep, overheard during the daybreak watch the sounds of the hell-people; he trembled and started up. 'Is my life in danger, or my queen's, or does some calamity threaten my country?' Thus exclaiming, he got up at sunrise, after a sleepless night, and sending for the chief priest, he said to him, 'Brahmin, my teacher, in the daybreak watch I heard a great noise like that of a huge drum; is it my country, my queen, or myself that is in danger of some calamity?' The Brahmin said, 'My lord, your Majesty, what sounds were they that you heard?'—'Teacher Brahmin,' replied the king, 'I heard the word "du," the word "sa," the word "na," and the word "so;" these four words I heard.' The Brahmin, like a man going into the dark, seeing nothing at all, said, 'I cannot tell what it means;' then reflecting that he would go without any presents and offerings, he said, 'Your Majesty, I will be responsible; have no anxiety; I know the three Vedas.' The king said, 'What ought to be done?' The Brahmin replied, 'It will be well if you make a sacrifice of every kind of living creature.'—'How shall this be done?' asked the king. He said, 'Procure a hundred elephants, a hundred horses, a hundred bulls, a hundred goats, a hundred camels, a hundred fowls, a hundred pigs, a hundred boys, a hundred girls, a

hundred of every living creature' In order that it should not be found out that he said this merely in order to obtain different kinds of meat to eat, he inserted among the number, elephants, horses, and human beings

The king, imagining that he was saving his life, ordered every kind of living animal to be procured The royal slaves, saying, 'The king is going to sacrifice,' took 500 bulls, and as many of every other living creature The inhabitants, with sorrowful countenances, weeping for their children and grandchildren, raised loud cries of lamentation Queen Mallikā, hearing the noise of their weeping, went to the king and said to him, 'Why have you taken them?' He replied, 'Queen, do you not know that a poisonous cobra has gone into my car?' The queen said, 'What cobra?' The king replied, 'When I heard this noise in the night, I asked the Brahmin about it, he told me that a calamity was impending over me, and that in order to avert it I must sacrifice a hundred of every living creature It is because this sacrifice will avert the calamity that I have taken them' The queen said to him, 'How stupid you are! Did your Majesty ever know of a man being killed, and then by means of his death another man's life being saved? You are making numbers of people miserable all through listening to stupid Brahmins There is Parī Taken, who is superior to the three orders of beings,¹ and can see through the past and the future Go and inquire of this Parī Taken, and take his advice'

The king, riding in his carriage and accompanied by Queen Mallikā, went to Parī Taken Overcome

with terror for his life, the king was unable to speak a word, but remained motionless before Parā Taken in an attitude of adoration. Parā Taken said, "Great king, what brings you here?" The king kept silence. Then Queen Malhikā addressed Parā Taken, "Lord and master, the king, during the daybreak watch, heard the words 'du,' 'sa,' 'na,' and 'so,' repeated. Hearing these words he was unable to sleep, and went and asked the Brahmin. The Brahmin told him that a calamity was impending, and that in order to avert it, he must sacrifice a hundred of every living creature, that their life blood would free him from the threatened danger. In consequence of his having a large number of creatures taken for the sacrifice, I have brought him into your sacred presence." Parā Taken said, "Great king, is what the queen says true?"—"It is true, my lord," replied the king. "What sounds did you hear?" asked Parā Taken. The king said, "I heard the word 'du'." Directly he said this, Parā Taken understood it, and instructed him as follows: "Have no anxiety, no calamity awaits your Majesty. The hell people, unable to bear their sufferings, made this sound." The king said to Parā Taken, "What did the hell people do?" Then Parā Taken related the evil deeds of those people as follows:—

"Great king, a long time ago, at a time when people used to live for twenty thousand years, the Parā Taken Kassapa appeared. On the occasion of Parā Taken Kassapa journeying to Benares, surrounded by twenty thousand Rahandas, the people of the city presented the offerings of hospitality. At this time there were in the city of Benares four *Thuthes*, each worth

four hundred millions of property, who were great friends with each other. They debated among themselves as to what they should do with the property in their houses. One of the four proposed that they should make offerings to the Parī Taken who had journeyed thither, and attend to their religious duties, this proposition met with no favour from the others. Another suggested that they should procure the very best kinds of meat and intoxicating liquors, and enjoy themselves in eating and drinking. A third said, "We will eat the most delicate and delicious dainties." The last of the *Thut/e*'s sons proposed that they should spend their money in procuring other people's wives. This proposal met the unanimous approval of all the *Thut/e*'s sons and they spent their money in procuring handsome women. In this way for twenty thousand years the four *Thut/e*'s sons used to commit adultery with other men's wives. When they died they found themselves in the lowest hell, where they were boiled during the whole interval between the appearing of two consecutive *Paris*. On leaving the lowest hell they appeared again in the *Lohakumbha* hell pot sixty *yogas* in extent, they reached the bottom of this in thirty thousand years. In another thirty thousand years they came up to the brim again, then these four hell people endeavoured to repeat one or other of the sacred verses but they could not say one whole verse, all they could do was to utter one syllable or another at intervals, then they sank down again into the hell pot."

Parī Taken recited as follows in full the verse which these hell people were endeavouring to say, "Fellow-men we have led a bad life, conspicuous in wealth

and power, yet we made no offerings. The good works that would have tended to our own profit, that would have taken us to the land of the Nats, we neglected to perform."

Parī Taken, having thus explained the first, and desiring to show the meaning of the second verse, asked the king what next he heard. The king replied, "I heard the word 'sa'." Then Parī Taken recited the complete verse as follows:

"All of us boiling in the hell pot, have completed sixty thousand years. When will there be an end to this hell?"

Having thus explained the meaning of the second verse in full, and desirous of conveying the explanation of the third verse, Parī Taken said to the king, "What next did you hear?"—"The word 'na,'" replied the king. Then the most excellent Para thus recited the third verse "na."

"Fellow men, hell has no end. When will be the end of hell? In the same way, in the country of men we, and you also, performed evil deeds, we did not see the end of evil deeds."

Parā Taken, having thus explained the meaning of the third verse, and wishing to explain the fourth, said to the king, "What next did you hear?" The king replied "so." The most excellent Para then recited the fourth verse as follows:

"If we ever return from this hell country to the country of men, we will perform numerous good works and reverence the three jewels."

Parī Taken thus explained in succession the meaning of the four verses to King Pasenadīkosala. He then continued, "The four Thuthe's sons in hell, un

able to recite the whole of the four verses, but uttering only one syllable of each, sank down again into the Lohakumbha copper-pot" Thus Parā Taken completed his narration

The king, on hearing the words of Parā Taken, trembled, and impressed with the law of fear, he exclaimed, "To transgress against the wives of others and commit adultery is a grievous thing To boil in the lowest hell during the whole interval between one Parī and another, then leaving that hell to be boiled again for the whole of sixty thousand years in the Lohakumbha hell-pot of sixty *yoganas*, with no time of deliverance appearing! Yet I have passed a sleepless night in planning adultery From this day forth, never will I transgress regarding the wife of another" Then he said to Parā Taken, "This day I know how long a night is" The woman's husband also said, "I too know this day how long a *yogana* is" Parā Taken, in reference to the words of both, recited this poetry, "Great king, to him who cannot sleep, the night is long, to him who is weary, a *yogana's* journey is long, to the foolish who know not the law of the righteous, the life to come is long"¹

After Parā Taken had preached as related, the young man was established in the reward of *Sotāpatti*, and the assembly who had heard the law were also established in the reward of *Sotāpatti* King Pasenadikosala paid homage to Parā Taken and went away All the creatures who were about to die were released from their bonds The husband and wife, knowing that they owed their lives to Queen Mallikā, expressed the gratitude they owed her

¹ See *Dhammapada* verse 60

The four Thuthe's sons who have suffered in hell ever since they lived for twenty thousand years in the time of the Parā Kassapa, these hell creatures when they repeated the four syllables "du," "sa," "na," "so," were up on the surface, since it takes thirty thousand years to go from top to bottom, they have not yet reached the bottom, but are now only in the middle. Such is the story of the four Thuthe's sons, who, after committing adultery with the wives of others, had to suffer in hell.

END OF THE STORY OF THE FOUR THUTHE'S SONS

CHAPTER XVI

STORY OF THE MODEST GIRL

WHEN Parā Taken was in the Vesālī country, among the Devadhamma verses¹ he recited the Hiri law,² illustrating it by an account of a young village girl, who by possessing the virtue of modesty, had reached the rank of a queen, and he also related how in a former time she had given birth to a jewel son, the embryo Kakravartī king

At one time in the Vesālī country, when Para Taken was residing there, there was a king named Lakkhavi, who was excessively handsome. One day he made offerings of food to Parā Taken and his assembly of Rahans, and, in company with his queen, listened to the law. When Para Taken had finished his exposition, he went away. The Rahans observed to each other that King Lakkhavi's queen was by no means handsome, that she was very large and had big hands, but that she was certainly possessed of modesty. Parā Taken, overhearing their conversation, said

“Rahans, my beloved sons, this is not so only now, but it was just the same in former times, when King Lakkhavi was King Brahmadata, ruling over the

¹ D vine law² Modesty

Benares country; at that time I was the king's minister. There was then residing in a village a young girl of an appearance not at all handsome, with a large body and big hands. This girl came on one occasion to Benares to see her relations. The king, happening to be looking out of his palace window as the girl passed by, saw her; and remarked that out of modesty, she was careful that her clothes should not fly open as she walked along¹. Thinking that if he made so modest a woman his queen, she would not fail to present him with a son of great glory, he called to a nobleman who was near him, and told him to go and inquire whether she had a husband or not. The king, hearing that she was unmarried, took her and raised her to the rank of his queen, and always held her in the highest respect.

"The queen, before very long, fulfilled the king's expectations by giving birth to a son who had every sign of wisdom and glory. This son attained the rank of a *Kakravarti* king.

"This virtue of modesty is very rarely found. It has nothing to do with beauty or ugliness; let a person be as beautiful as you will, it is not worth talking about (in comparison).

"Rahans, my dear children, they who at that time were the king and queen of Benares are now King *Likkhavi* and his queen; and the nobleman is now I, the *Parā*."

END OF THE STORY OF THE MODEST GIRL.

¹ The dress of the Burmese women is simply a square cloth, worn round the body, and tucked in at the waist and above the breast, in walking, if not careful, the women expose the leg

CHAPTER XVII

THE STORY ABOUT GRATITUDE

IN the Devadhamma verses, the person who was called Sabburisa was Katanukatavedi Para Taken, while he was in the Getavana monastery, related the circumstances connected with his receiving the name of Sabburisa

In former times, I, then the Paralaun,¹ was the guardian Nat of a castor oil² tree in the country of Benares. The people of the country used to make offerings to me of delicately flavoured dainties and flowers. At this time a poor man came and made an offering of a piece of bread and a cup of water. The Parālaun, the Nat of the castor oil tree, appeared to him and said, "Ho! you poor man. Why do you make an offering to me?" He replied, "My lord Nat King, I make an offering to you because I wish to be delivered from poverty." The Parālaun reflecting, "It is right that I should pay him the debt of gratitude I

¹ One who is to become a Para

² The castor oil is only a plant some other tree is probably meant as Nats are always described as residing in large trees not shrubs and plants. The Burmese text and manuscript however both distinctly say castor oil

owe for his offering," said to him, "You poor man, at the foot of the castor-oil tree where I live, there is a number of pots of gold all close together, after having addressed the King of Benares about it, take them " With these words the Nat vanished.

The poor man, according to the Parīlaun Nat's instruction, addressed the king, and took the pots of gold. The king, moreover, on that very day made him a *Thuthe*, and presented him with all the appendages of that rank.

Hence, all who make offerings to the guardian Nats of trees will be rewarded.

END OF THE STORY ABOUT GRATITUDE

CHAPTER XVIII

THE STORY ABOUT COVETOUSNESS GREEDINESS, AND
ANGER

PARA TAKEN preached a discourse regarding those who from their covetousness became animals upon the spot where they had stored their treasures, and regarding death occasioned by not repressing anger under the influence of greediness

At one time there lived a *Thuthe* in the country of *Kasikarag*, who was excessively covetous. When he died he became a rat in the place where he had buried his treasures. At this time the *Paralaun* was engaged in excavating a stone temple. When the rat saw the *Paralaun*, he brought him two *kahapanas'* worth of his treasure in a bundle, and said to him, 'Young man, take one *kahāpana's* worth, and buy me meat and curry stuff, and keep the other your self.' The *Paralaun* in this way used every day to buy one *kahāpana's* worth of meat and curry stuff for the rat, and keep one *kahāpana* for himself.

One day a cat caught the rat. The rat said to her, "Friend cat I will give you meat and curry stuff every day, do not kill me." The cat exacted from him a solemn promise to this effect, and let him go. From that day the rat divided his food into two parts,

and gave one to the cat. Three other cats afterwards caught the rat, and he made them all the same promise as he had made to the first cat, so now he had to divide his food into five parts, and give four to the cats who, he was afraid, would take his life.

The Parālaun, who knew all this, when he had finished the rock temple, left a small hole in it only just large enough to admit the rat. "Friend rat," said he, "live inside the hollow of the rock, and do not give any food to the four cats; when they come, speak roughly to them." After a little while one of the cats came and said, "I am very hungry, give me some food."—"O you cat," said the rat, "why do you come and ask me for food?" The cat, being very greedy, flew into a violent passion, and made a spring at him with her outstretched claws; striking her chest against the stone cave, she was killed. In the same way the three other cats also met their death.

Wise men should reflect upon a man, through his covetousness, thus becoming an animal watching over his former wealth; upon excessive greediness, and upon death resulting from anger.

END OF THE STORY OF COVETOUSNESS, GREEDINESS, AND
ANGER

girl, if you were to see this young man, would you know him?" The girl replied, "The young man brought it in the night, so I should not know him."

Now the king, when he was sleeping with the young girl, had purposely called her attention to a scar upon his hand, so now he said to her, "O girl, if you were to feel the hand of the young man who brought you the golden basket, would you know him?" She replied, "The young man when he came to my house made me notice a scar on his hand, therefore, if I felt his hand I should know him."

When the girl said this, the king, making use of a king's artifice, had her placed inside of a large coverlet, which was folded many times round her in such a way as to leave open only one small aperture. Then she was made to feel the hands of all the nobles as they came up to her one after the other, and inserted their arms in the aperture, but the girl said, "None of these is my husband's hand."

All the noblemen who had felt the touch of the girl's hand, seeing how fine and delicate she was, could not contain themselves, but were all like madmen. "My lord, your Majesty," they cried, "give me the young girl, let me pay the fine for the theft of the golden basket." The king would not agree to this, but went up to the girl in the coverlet and put his hand through the aperture that she might feel it, and so recognize him. Pṛakapīṭi, directly she felt the scar, said, "This is my husband's hand, it was he who brought me the gold basket full of dainties." These words of the girl enlightened the noblemen on the state of affairs.

Then the king said to his nobles, "Fearing, lest not knowing the high quality of excessive purity and deli-

cacy which this young girl possesses, you would impute blame to me, I have tested thus your sentiments This young girl is already my wife ”

On that very day the king had the ceremony of pouring water performed, and installed her in the position of head queen

Hence those who, although they may have no beauty, are possessed of the attribute of extreme purity and delicacy will attain a lofty position.

END OF THE STORY OF THE SENSE OF TOUCH

CHAPTER XX

THE STORY ABOUT THE SENSE OF HEARING

ON one occasion Para Taken, while residing in the *Getavana* monastery, preached a discourse regarding the sense of hearing, one of the five senses —

Rahans, my beloved sons, when the King of Benares was enjoying himself one day in his garden, he heard the voice of a woman who was singing very sweetly while she was engaged in collecting fuel, on hearing the voice, desire for the woman seized the king, and he immediately gratified it, and the Parālaun became an embryo in the woman. On account of the great glory of the child that was to be born of her, the woman was immediately aware of it, and said to the king, “Your Majesty, I have conceived.” The king took from his finger a ring worth a hundred thousand, and presented it to her, saying, “If your child prove a girl, sell this ring and live both of you on its proceeds, if it be a boy, bring him to me.” After saying this, he returned to his palace, surrounded by all his nobles.

The woman, who gained her living by collecting fuel, when ten months had passed, gave birth to the Parālaun. When the child was somewhat grown, he

asked his mother who his father was. She replied, "The great King of Benares" On hearing this, the Parālaun said, "If this be so, take me to my father." His mother accordingly took him, and presenting Parālaun, together with the ruby ring, to the king, she said, "My lord, your Majesty, this child is my lord your Majesty's honoured son" The king, although he knew it was so, felt ashamed in the midst of the assembly, and said, "It is not my son" Then the Parālaun's mother made this invocation in support of the truth of her assertion, "If this be not in truth your Majesty's son, may it fall to the ground and be killed! If it be your son, may it remain stationary in the air!" Saying these words she threw the child up in the air. The Parālaun, from his great glory, remained according to the invocation stationary in the air, seated in a cross-legged posture; in this position he remained while he expounded the law to his royal father, and explained to him the ten duties of kings, viz : The making of offerings; the observance of the commandments; the giving of alms; upright conduct; meekness and gentleness; not to cause sorrow to his subjects; not to be angry with others, not to oppress others; forbearance; not to oppose the wishes of his people.

The King of Benares, when he saw this marvel, exclaimed, "This is truly my son! beloved son, deign to descend." The Parālaun descended on to his father's breast and remained there.

The king conferred upon the Parālaun the rank of heir-apparent, and gave his mother the position of queen

He who was at that time the King of Benares is

now my father King Suddhodana, and the queen is my mother Queen Māyā The little prince is I the Parā

In this way Parā Taken related this *Gāt* ¹

Hence the possession of a pleasing voice conducts to a lofty position

END OF THE STORY ABOUT THE SENSE OF HEARING.

¹ An account of some one or other of the different existences of Gotama, there are supposed to be 550 of them written

CHAPTER XXI

THE STORY ABOUT BRIBES

PARA TAKEN preached a discourse about the evil consequences of taking bribes from a spirit of covetousness

At one time there lived in the Sāvattṭhi country a Brahmin who addressed himself to King Kosala, stating that he was versed in the characteristic signs of daggers. The king made the smiths show all the daggers they offered him to the Brahmin, and if he approved of them, they were placed in the king's armoury. From that day the smiths used to bring bribes whenever they showed him the daggers. Of every dagger that the smiths who bribed him displayed, the Brahmin smelt the edge and said, "It is a good one," then it was placed in the king's armoury, but all those which the smiths who did not bribe him brought, he would say were bad ones, although they were good.

One day a smith said to himself, "This Brahmin says that all our daggers are bad, and that all the daggers of those who bribe him are good, I will so contrive that he will not dare to say so in future." Accordingly he filled the scabbard of a dag-

ger with very fine red pepper, and smeared the blade over with the same substance. He put the dagger in the sheath and presented it to the king. The king made him show it to the Brahmin. The Brahmin smelt the edge of the dagger as usual, the pepper got into the Brahmin's nose, unable to restrain himself he sneezed violently and slit his nose completely against the edge of the dagger. The king and all his court, when they saw this could not contain themselves, but roared with laughter.

Thus we see the evil consequences of an inclination to take bribes without having any regard to good qualities.

END OF THE STORY ABOUT BRIBES

CHAPTER XXII

THE REWARD OF SARANAGAMANA¹

On one occasion, Parā Taken, when he was in the *Getavana* monastery, preached a discourse upon the greatness of the reward of *Saranagamana*

One day the Brahmin *Velāma* completely filled with gold and silver a compartment of a rice field, sufficient to sow ten baskets of seed grain, and for the whole of seven years and seven months made offerings of eighty four thousand golden cups, eighty four thousand silver cups, eighty four thousand copper cups, elephants, horses and carriages with ornamental trappings, mulch cows, virgins, jewels, eighty four thousand of each, besides these, food and sherbets of every kind

Greater than the reward of such an offering as this is the reward of an offering made to a *Sotapan*,² greater still to a *Sakadagami*,³ greater still to an *Anagāmi*,⁴ greater still to a *Rahanda*, greater still to a

¹ The formula I worship Buddha the law and the priest hood

² First state of an Ariya

³ Second state of an Ariya

⁴ Third state of an Ariya

Pakkha buddha, greater still to a *Para* Taken with his sacred assembly of *Rahans*, but greater than all these is the reward of a steadfast observance of the *Saranagamana*

END OF THE REWARD OF SARANAGAMANA

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FIVE COMMANDMENTS

He preached as follows the consequences entailed by the five commandments —

If a man have no teachers or priests, he should be constant in the practice of repeating each of the five commandments, beginning with *Pāṇātipāta*, with his hands raised in attitude of adoration in front of a sacred image of *Parā* Taken on a sacred pagoda

1 *Pāṇātipāta* — This law is broken by the killing of as much as a louse, a bug, or a tick

2 *Adinnādāna* — This law is broken by taking as much as a single thread of cotton which has not been given by another

3 *Kāmesumikkhāḷāra* — This law is broken by even looking at the wife of another with a lustful mind

4 *Musāvāda* — This law is broken by even jestingly uttering a falsehood which will affect the advantage and prosperity of another

5 *Surāmeraya* — This law is broken by even letting fall upon the tongue only such a drop of intoxicating liquor as would hang at the end of a blade of *Thaman* grass, if it is known to be intoxicating liquor

He preached as follows regarding the great crime of *Pāṇatipāta* —

King Kosala's wife, Queen Mallikā, while she was experiencing the three abodes,¹ having become a young girl, went into the bazaar to purchase some meat for a guest whom she had received at her house. Failing to procure any, she killed a goat to supply her guest with meat. For this evil deed, after completing her sufferings in the lowest hell, her neck was trodden on, and she was killed in her turn.

Again, Putigatta Mahāthera, one of Parā Taken's holy disciples, suffered in hell for having been in one state of existence a fowler, and, until the time of his becoming a Rahanda, suffered the torture of having his bones broken into little pieces, after which he acquired Paramibbana.

Again, the Rishi Pandukabra, as a consequence of the sin of his having at the time when he was a carpenter pierced a fly with a splinter of wood, had, while engaged as a Rishi in the performance of good works, to suffer the torture of being impaled.

Again in the time of Parā Taken, his sacred disciples, on account of having formerly been huntsmen, notwithstanding they had reached the state of holy disciples, fought among themselves, and all killed each other, and Para Taken, who had no power to prevent them, was reduced to one solitary attendant.

Again, all the Sakiya kings, for having in a former existence caught fish in the Sansarāga tank by poisoning them, were every one killed by the Vidadūpa warriors, without Para Taken having any power to prevent it.

¹ The abodes of Men, Nats and Brahmas.

Para Taken continued, "Rahans, my dear sons, whoever takes life, when he dies out of his present existence will appear again in hell, and afterwards in the state of an animal. After being freed from hell and the condition of an animal, even when he reaches the state of a man he will have but a short life.

Such were the words of Para Taken upon the subject of *Panātīpāta*.

Adinnādāna or the taking of what has not been given by another.

A girl of the country of Benares suffered in hell for having stolen a putzo¹. After she had left hell and had become a human being she was excessively lovely and of an extremely delicate kind of beauty, her hair was (black and shining) like a humble bee. All who saw her fell in love with her. Some women, however, who were envious of her, mixed some decapillatory drug in her hair wash and in consequence, all her hair came off just as if it had been pulled out by the roots, in fact she looked like a plucked crow. Greatly ashamed at losing her hair, she went away to another place where she employed herself in selling oil. While thus engaged she made an offering to a Rahan of some food fried in oil, and prayed that as a reward of the offering in her future life she might have good hair. When she died out of that existence as the reward of her offering she became a Nat's daughter in a golden palace which rose up from the midst of the sea. Her hair was of immense length and beautifully fine but as a punishment for her having in a former existence stolen a putzo, she had no clothes whatever and was always quite naked. After she had been in this con-

¹ Waist-cloth of a man

dition for a very long time, in the time of the most excellent Para Gotama, there arrived at the island some sailor merchants, who, seeing her quite naked inside her palace, presented her with some clothes, but she could not put them on. The Nat's daughter said to them, "Brothers, if you wish to clothe me, make an offering to some one, and share the reward with me saying, 'May the Nat's daughter obtain clothes'." The sailors accordingly made an offering of a putzo to one of their companions who steadfastly observed the Saranagamana, and at the same time prayed, "May the Nat's daughter obtain clothes!" On the very day that the offering was made, the Nat's daughter, who had had to live naked in her palace, received for her apparel the garments of the Nats. Then the sailors said to the Nat's daughter, "In consequence of our having made an offering on your behalf, you are abundantly provided with clothes, make now an offering among us of clothes for an offering to Para Taken, then, if you constantly reflect upon the virtues of Para Taken, you will again become a Nat's daughter." The Nat's daughter did as the sailors directed, and made an offering of two putzos of the Nats. When Para Taken received the putzos, he preached the Law, illustrating it by an account of the Nat's daughter, and she, when she died, became a Nat's daughter in the Tavatimsa Nat country, living in a golden palace, and surrounded by a thousand attendants.

Fixing your attention upon this sacred exposition of the Law, you must always shun the property which has not been given you by another.

Again Para Taken preached, "Rahins, my beloved sons, whoever shall take what has not been given to

him shall suffer the condition of a Hell-Preta, and even when delivered from this state of suffering he shall obtain again the condition of man, nothing that he possesses shall be permanent, it shall all be destroyed

Such were the words of Parā Taken on the subject of theft

Kāmesumīllāāra, transgression against a woman whom another possesses. Those who commit this crime will suffer in hell after they die. After completing their time in hell, even when they become human beings, they are the female servants of others. My lord Ānanda, Parā Taken's younger brother, after he had been completing the virtues during the whole of four Asankhyas¹ and a hundred thousand cycles, when he had an existence among the race of blacksmiths, once committed adultery with the wife of another, for this he had to suffer hell, and after completing his time there, became a woman during fourteen existences. When he died out of the condition of a woman and became a man, he suffered mutilation during seven existences.

Again, the four Thutke's sons in the Benares country, for committing adultery with the wives of others, had to suffer in the hell pot, once every sixty thousand years they came to the surface, and, enduring dreadful torture, uttered the syllables, "du," "sa," "na," "so," after which they went back into the hell-pot. Besides this, every one who commits adultery with another man's wife, after death becomes a woman.

¹ According to Judson, a number expressed by a unit followed by 140 cyphers

Such were the words of Parī Taken on the subject of *Kāmesumikkhāḥāra*

Musāvāda — In consequence of King *Ketiya* telling a falsehood, the carriage drawn by winged horses and the four Nat's sons guarding it with their daggers, all disappeared, the smell of his body, which was like that of sandal wood, and the smell of his mouth, which was like that of a water lily bud, became fetid, and the earth swallowed him up

Kinḍamāna also was swallowed up by the earth for telling a falsehood

The huntsman who told a lie when he was under examination by the monkey king, was swallowed up by the earth. They all had to suffer in the lowest hell

Therefore, of all sins against the five commandments, the uttering of a falsehood is the greatest

Para Taken also said, "My beloved sons, whoever tells a falsehood, will after death suffer the condition of a Hell Preta, when they are released from those states of suffering, and have become men, they will have to hear false accusations"

Such were the words of Para Taken on the subject of *Musāvāda*

Surīmeraya — Whoever shall drink intoxicating liquor, when he dies out of his present existence, will suffer the condition of a Hell Preta. Even when on release from that state of suffering he becomes a man, he will be insane

Such were the words of Para Taken on the subject of *Surīmeraya*

The great rewards that those receive who shun these five actions are, an excellent condition of ex

istence, a longer life than others, greater wealth and power than others, greater fame than others, existence in the country of the Nats more than others, these are the five great rewards which those will obtain who observe the five commandments. All those who keep the five commandments will reap much profit, and when they die will have an existence in the country of the Nats, and in the Uttarakuru Island. Every happiness which is to be attained in future existences is the result of observing the commandments.

I have concisely completed the subject of the five commandments, which have really and truly the power of procuring happiness, profit, and excellent virtues, for the use of my fellow-men who long for the results and advantages of those commandments, which the most excellent Parā, full of patience, has preached in a variety of different ways. If all my fellow-men who reverencing the Parā, the law, and the priesthood, desire the advantages which the commandments bring, shall at all times steadfastly observe them,—they will conduct them to the fulfilment of all their wishes, and give them peace and happiness in the church of Parā Taken.

END OF THE DISCOURSE UPON THE FIVE COMMANDMENTS

CHAPTER XXIV

ON DHAMMA DANA

PARA TAKEN, moreover, preached as follows, upon the measureless results and advantages derived from listening to the Law —

“There were four questions which all the Nats in the Tavatimsa Nat country had been considering for twelve years and yet could not solve ‘At last they asked the four *Katulokapāla* Nat Kings These also said, We cannot solve them, our master, the Sakka King, can answer at once the questions of a thousand people Let us ask the Sakka King’ So saying the four *Katulokapāla* Nat Kings went with all the Nats to the Sakka King and asked him the questions The Sakka King in like manner said ‘I cannot solve them, it is only the omniscient Para who is an *Agga* puggalam who can solve them Accordingly, the Sakka King and the four *Katulokapāla* Nat Kings with all the Nats from the six stages of the Nat country went to Para Taken and said to him, ‘Para omniscient lord of the law, among offerings, which is the most excellent offering? Among the different kinds of food which is the most excellent food? Among enjoyments which is the most excellent

enjoyment? Among all rests from the punishment of misery, which is the most excellent?' Para Taken, in reply, preached as follows — Sakka King, he who makes an offering of the Law makes an offering superior to all others. Of all foods, the food of the Law is the best. Of all enjoyments, the enjoyment of the Law is the highest. Nibbana, which is the rest from the misery of lust and passion is the head of all. The reason why Dhamma dana¹ is so excellent is this. Sakka King¹ if any one should completely fill the whole of the Kakravala kingdom, which is one million two hundred and three thousand four hundred and fifty yoganās in extent, with Paras, Pakkekabuddhas, Rahandas, and disciples, and should make offerings to them of *thingans*,² rice, milk, butter, and so forth, and if any one should repeat or listen to four feet of a sacred verse, and the four feet thus repeated or listened to, were divided into sixteen parts, the offerings I have mentioned would not be equal to one of these parts. It is on this account that the Dhamma dana is so excellent. Again, if any one does not listen to the Law, he must not make an offering of as much as a ladleful of milk rice, or a single meal of plain rice. Thus it is that the offering of the Law and the hearing of the Law are so excellent. Putting aside Paras and Pakkekabuddhas, my lord Sariputta, who could count the rain drops that fall in the whole of the Kakravala kingdom, could not of himself obtain the way of Sotāpatti, or any other, but when he heard four feet of the verses of the sacred Law recited by my lord Assaṇḍi, he was able to obtain the way of Sotāpatti. Therefore, excellent is Dhamma dāna.

¹ The offering of the Law

² Priests' garments

"Although you eat the ambrosia of the Nats, which produces twelve effects, yet you have repeatedly to experience the three abodes,¹ but the food of the Law, if you listen to it but for a moment, can free you from the three abodes and conduct you to Nibbāna. Therefore, excellent is the food of the Law.

"The enjoyment of the Nats lasts longer than that of men, but still only in the three abodes, while the excellent enjoyment of preaching and listening to the Law liberates from the three abodes, and conducts to Nibbāna. Therefore, excellent is the enjoyment of the Law."

When Parā Taken had thus solved the four questions which the Sakka King had asked, and terminated his discourse upon the Law, eighty four thousand Nats acquired the law of liberation.²

The Sakka King said to Parā Taken, "If this be so, why do you not share with me the offering of the Law which is most excellent among offerings?" Thus he addressed the sacred ear. Parā Taken said, "Rahans, my dear sons from this day forth do not say that the sacred Law which I preach, I preach only for the assembly of Rahans, but whenever I preach and discourse upon the Law in the assembly, say, 'May the Sakka King receive a share!' and divide it with him."

Thus, because it can give rewards and advantages inestimable, those who recite or listen to the Law receive exceedingly great and most excellent rewards.

When Parā Taken thus, as it were, distributing the food of the sacred Law, preached the sacred Dhamma

¹ I.e. of men, Nats and Brahmas

² I.e. had their salvation secured

kakra Law in the Isipatana forest, Anyakondanna and eighty millions of Brahmas obtained the law of liberation. When he preached to the thirty Bhaddavaggis, the thousand Rishis, the hundred and ten thousand nobles of King Bimbisāra in the Latthi garden, and ten thousand congregations were liberated, and ten thousand congregations were firmly established in the observance of Saranagamana¹

END OF THE DISCOURSE UPON DHAMMA DANA

¹ In this last paragraph the MS differs considerably from the printed text, the latter has been followed

CHAPTER XXV

STORY OF THE PRIEST LOKATISSA

PARA TAKEN, while he resided in the *Getavana* monastery, preached as follows the *Vatthu*¹ of *Akusala*² *Upapīṭakam*

Lokatissa Mahāthera, on account of an evil deed which he had committed in a previous state of existence, became an embryo in a village of a thousand fishermen, in the country of King Kosala. From the very day on which he was conceived, the thousand fishermen who were fishing with traps and nets, could not catch a single fish, and they consequently suffered from hunger. Moreover, from the day the child was conceived, their village was seven times burned down and seven times had a fine imposed upon it by the king. The fishermen, who had been in misery ever since the child was conceived began to reflect, "It was never like this with us before, it is only now that we have become poor and miserable, therefore, this state of things must have arisen from there being among us some degenerate being whose former deeds were bad." Accordingly, the thousand fishermen divided themselves into two parties of five hundred

¹ Sacred story

² Guilt evil deeds

each, which went out fishing separately. The fishermen who came from the quarter where the parents of the embryo Lokatissa resided, obtained nothing, but the other party of five hundred obtained abundance. The unsuccessful party of fishermen again divided themselves into two parties of two hundred and fifty each, and again the party to which the embryo child belonged obtained nothing. In this way they continued to subdivide, till at last the house of the parents of the embryo Lokatissa was alone in its misfortune, then the thousand fishermen, perceiving that the degenerate being must belong to that man's house, expelled the family from the village.

The parents of the child, who were in abject poverty at the time of its birth, had no love for it, for they said to themselves, "From the very day that the child was conceived, misfortunes befell the thousand fishermen, and we ourselves have been reduced to misery." Now, because the child was destined to become a Rahanda, they had no power to destroy it, the light of the reward of Arahatta was to shine in that child's heart like a lamp burning inside an earthen pot. When the child was big enough to walk alone, his parents gave him a piece of broken pot to serve as a cup, then inveigling him inside a house, they left him there and ran away to another place.

The child, thus left alone in the world, used to live by going about with his piece of broken pot in his hand, begging victuals from house to house, and thus he continued to do till he was seven years of age. About this time, my lord Sāriputta came to receive alms in the Svatthi country. When he saw the child beggar, he took compassion upon him, and

calling him to him, said, "Who are your parents?" The child replied, "Lord and master, I have no one on whom to depend, my parents, in consequence of being in the greatest poverty ever since my birth, have deserted me." My lord Sariputta took the child with him to the monastery, and made him a probationer for the priesthood. After some time had passed, and he was twenty years of age, he made him a Pankanga. When he was advanced in years he became celebrated as Lokatissa. This Lokatissa had not the attribute of attracting offerings. At a time when unparalleled offerings were made, he could not obtain enough to fill his belly with, he procured just sufficient to sustain life. When any one put a single ladleful of yāgu¹ or rice into his t/abet and was about to put more, the t/abet always appeared to be full, so they poured it into the other t/abets, and put no more in his. When the people, making offerings to all the priests in succession came to this Lokatissa's t/abet, all the food which they had in the yāgu cup ready to offer to him, would disappear.

One day, Lokatissa having developed Vipassanā,² became a Rahanda. Notwithstanding that he had thus become a Rahanda, he could never obtain offerings. On the day when he was going to obtain Parānibbāna, my lord Sariputta, who was aware of it, said to himself, "This Lokatissa therā will obtain Parānibbāna to day, therefore, I will give him as much food as will satisfy him." With this thought, he sent for Lokatissa therā, and invited him to come and

¹ A particular preparation of rice made with a variety of ingredients

² A kind of miraculous knowledge

receive rice with him, but my lord Sāriputta, because Lokatissa was with him when he went to collect rice, did not obtain a single ladleful, the people did not even give him the usual respectful salutations. My lord Sāriputta, knowing that Lokatissa therā had not the attribute of attracting offerings, then sent him away, saying, "Go and stay in my monastery." As soon as he had gone away, all the people cried, "Here comes my lord Sāriputta," and hastened to make him offerings of food. My lord Sāriputta sent a quantity of this food to Lokatissa therā, but on the road to the monastery, the people who were taking it forgot all about Lokatissa, and ate it up themselves. When my lord Sāriputta returned to the monastery, Lokatissa made obeisance to him. Sāriputta said, "Lokatissa, have you eaten the food I sent you?" He replied, "I have had none to eat." Sāriputta, on hearing this, was startled, then looking at the sun and finding that it was not too late, he said to him, "Remain here," and having given him a place to stop in, he went off to the palace of King Kosala and stood there ready to receive alms. King Kosala, directly he saw my lord Sāriputta, filled his t/ābet with rice and Katumadhu¹. When Sāriputta arrived with the food at the monastery, he did not give him the t/ābet, but holding it against his breast said to him, "My lord Lokatissa, take the food out of the t/ābet which I am holding, and eat it," but Lokatissa, out of respect to my lord Sāriputta, would not presume to eat it. Then my lord Sāriputta said, "I will stand up and hold the t/ābet, you also stand up and eat from it, if I let go the t/ābet, all the food will disappear, and you

¹ Food which a priest may eat after 12 o'clock see page 120

will have nothing to eat ' Accordingly, Lokatissa stood up and ate the food out of the t̄ābet, while my lord Śrīputta stood up and held it with both hands Lokatissa ate enough to fill his belly, and on that very day obtained Paramibbāna Parī Taken performed Lokatissa's sepulture, and erected a Pagoda over his bones and other relics

At this time the Rahans in the assembly of the law were saying to each other, "How was it that this Lokatissa therā, who was so wanting in the attribute of attracting offerings obtained the way, the reward, and Nibbana? ' Parī Taken, wishing to discourse upon the events of the past, preached as follows —

' Rahans, my dear sons it was because in a former state of existence this Lokatissa therā destroyed the offerings of a Rahanda, that he himself received none It is because he had formerly steadily practised the Vipassanā, 'instability, misery, unsubstantiality,' that he acquired the law of the way and the reward '

Then he proceeded to relate the events of times long past as follows —

' This Lokatissa therā in the time of the Parī Taken Kassapa was a Rahan A T̄ugyue built a monastery for him and supplied all his wants In this monastery of the T̄ugyue he strenuously exerted himself to acquire the Vipassana One day a Rahanda who had come from the Himavanta forest arrived at this T̄ugyue's village The T̄ugyue, inspired with affection for him as soon as he saw him invited him into his house and set food before him 'Deign to reside ' said he 'in my teacher's monastery, do not go anywhere else, as long as you remain here I will supply you with food ' So saying, he had him conducted to his teacher's monastery The

Rahan who resided in the monastery entered into conversation with his guest the Rahanda, 'My lord,' said he, 'Have you eaten food?' The guest, the Rahanda, replied, 'I have eaten'—'Where did you eat,' the Rahan asked. 'In the Thugyue's house,' he replied. The Rahan who lived in the monastery was jealous at hearing that the Rahanda had been eating in the Thugyue's house, and maintained silence.

"In the cool of the evening the Thugyue went to the monastery, and invited his teacher and the Rahanda guest to come and receive rice. After reminding his teacher to bring his Rahanda guest with him [to his house to receive alms] the Thugyue went away.

"The occupier of the monastery, vexed with his Rahan guest, would not say a single word to him, but maintained complete silence, thinking that by doing so, the guest would not presume to remain in the monastery. The Rahanda guest, knowing the bad feeling of the Rahan who occupied the monastery, resolved to go elsewhere. Next morning the Rahan, who occupied the monastery, arose very early and put on his t'angan, then, fearful of waking the Rahanda guest, in order to fulfil his duty he scratched with his finger nail on the stone drum, and after rapping on the door with his nail, went out. When the Thugyue saw that the Rahanda guest had not accompanied him, he said, 'Lord and master, did you not invite your Rahan guest to come?' The Rahan replied, 'Tagi, in order to arouse the Rahan guest, I beat the stone drum at the entrance of the monastery, and, moreover, rapped at the door, but I could not wake him, it must be the food which the Tagi made an offering of to him yesterday, and of which he ate to satiety, that

not being yet digested, makes him sleep so Has the Taga great affection for such a Rahan ?'

"The Rahanda guest when the time for collecting rice had arrived, put on his t^hingan, and carrying his t^habet at his breast, flew up into the sky and went away to another place to receive offerings

'The Thugyu¹, after supplying his teacher with food, put a quantity into his t^habet, telling him to offer it to the Rahan guest The Rahan, who was the occupier of the monastery, said to himself, 'If this Rahan guest were to eat this nice food, he would not go away even if I dragged him out,' and in his vexation he poured out all the rice, butter, and the rest of the food in a place where the jungle was burning On reaching the monastery he said, The Rahan guest must have been a Rahanda, who knowing my feelings to him, has gone elsewhere, and I in my jealousy have destroyed his offerings' With these words he died of his own accord He then went into hell, where he suffered for an immense length of time When released from hell he was a Bilu¹ during the whole of five hundred existences, and never for a single day procured sufficient food to satisfy him After completing five hundred existences as a Bilu, he was five hundred times a dog When he died, after completing his five hundred existences as a dog he became an embryo in the womb of a poor woman in a village of the Kasikara² country From the very day of his conception, his parents became miserably poor When he was born on the expiration of the ten months, they called the child Mittapindaka² As soon as this Mittapindaka could walk alone, his parents, unable to bear hunger

¹ A species of Ghouls

² The MS has Kum t^hap adaka

any longer, drove him away. The child, with no one to depend upon, went and found his way to Benares. At this time the Parālaun was the teacher Disāpamokkha at Benares, where he was giving instruction to five hundred young men who were his pupils. Mittapindaka also went and resided with the Parālaun, and was instructed in science and learning. From the very day that Mittapindaka came to receive instruction, the teacher Disāpamokkha was much concerned to find that no offerings were made to him. Mittapindaka, moreover, began to quarrel with the other pupils; at last, not heeding the admonitions of his teacher, and being always at variance with them, he ran away. Arriving at a village, he made his living there by labouring for hire. When he was grown up, he married a poor woman in that village, by whom he had two sons. On account of this Mittapindaka, the houses of the villagers were seven times burned down; and seven times a fine was imposed on them by the king; when they raised a dam for rice cultivation, it burst seven times. At last the villagers, seeing that all these misfortunes dated from the day when Mittapindaka came among them, drove him out of the village. As he was journeying to another place with his wife and children, he lost his way, and came into a forest where a Bilū lived. The Bilū devoured his wife and children. Mittapindaka, escaping, travelled to a great distance, and reached the harbour of Gambhīra; there he addressed himself to the captain of a ship, and asked to be allowed to work under him for hire; the sailors gave him employment and agreed to pay him wages.

“On the seventh day after setting sail, the vessel

remained stationary in the midst of the sea, just as if it were a fixture there. The sailors said, 'There must be some one on board our ship who ought not to be there.' So saying they cast lots, and Mittapindaka drew the lot seven times, they therefore gave him a bundle of bamboos which they made him take hold of with his hands, and throwing him overboard, sent him floating away in the midst of the sea. No sooner was he thrown overboard than the vessel started off like a flying horse.

"From the effect of his having in a previous state of existence, in the time of the Parā Taken Kassapa, practised the Vipassana, 'instability, misery, unsubstantiality,' Mittapindaka, after floating about the sea on the bundle of bamboos, arrived at an island where there was a palace in which lived four Nats' daughters with whom he enjoyed himself for seven days. These, in consequence of their being the daughters of the Nat Vimanopeti, after enjoying seven days' happiness had to undergo seven days of misery. These Nats' daughters accordingly, after telling Mittapindaka to stay in the palace till they came back, went away to undergo their sufferings. Mittapindaka, as soon as the Nat's daughters were gone, mounted his bundle of bamboos, and floating away on the sea, arrived at an island where there was a silver palace in which were eight Nats' daughters with whom he enjoyed himself. Floating off again from the silver palace, he reached an island where there was a ruby palace in which were sixteen Nats' daughters with whom he enjoyed himself. Leaving this again, he arrived at a golden palace where there were thirty two Nats' daughters with whom he enjoyed himself. All these Nats' daughters,

being the daughters of the Nat Vimanopeta, after enjoying seven days' happiness had to suffer seven days' misery. Although all the Nats' daughters asked him to stay in their palace, he would not remain, but seating himself on the bundle of bamboos, floated off again. At last he arrived at an island in the midst of the sea where Bilūmas¹ lived.

"At this time one of the Bilumas had assumed the appearance of a goat. Mittapindaka not knowing that it was a Bilūma, and thinking he would like to eat some goat's flesh, laid hold of it by the leg to kill it. The nature of the Bilūma being that of the Nat race, by means of her power and glory she seized Mittapindaka by the leg and hurled him away, and he fell down at the gate of the city of Benares. At the gate where he fell were some of the king's shepherds, who were in pursuit of some thieves who had stolen the king's goat. At this very moment Mittapindaka was pulling the leg of a goat, and the goat was making a great outcry. The shepherds, thinking that Mittapindaka was the thief, laid hold of him and gave him a beating, and then bound him and carried him off to take him before the king. At this juncture the Parālaun, the teacher Disapamokkha, was coming out of the city with his five hundred pupils to bathe. When he saw Mittapindaka, he said, "This is my disciple, release him." The shepherds set him free and went away, and Mittapindaka remained with the Parālaun. The Parālaun asked him where he had been all this time, and he related all his adventures. The Parālaun recited this poetry: 'He who will not listen to the words of his well wisher will come to misery.'

¹ A female Bilu

‘ He who was then Mittapindaka is now the Rahanda Lokatissa. The teacher Disāpamokkha is now I, the Parā. Thus the Rahanda Lokatissa, because in a former state of existence he was jealous of the offerings and prosperity of another, had to suffer in hell, after this, even when he became a man, he could never obtain sufficient food for a full meal. Up to the very time when he became a Rahanda, owing to the effects of his evil deeds in a former existence, he never for one single day had sufficient food to satisfy him. It was only on the day of his obtaining Nibbana that, through the power of my lord Śariputta, he enjoyed a full meal just before entering Nibbana.

“ Therefore, neither men nor Rahans should ever be vexed with, or envious of, the offerings and prosperity of others ’

END OF THE STORY TAKEN FROM THE KAMMAPABHEDA
DIPA SCRIPTURE

CHAPTER XXVI

AN ACCOUNT OF GOTAMA'S FAMILY

THE Sākya¹ kings of the family of Parā Taken were these in the Kapilavatthu country there were eighty thousand, all of the royal race, those of the race of Kosala² and those of the race of Devadaha were all of the royal race of Sākya. The way of it was this —

The king who in due course reigned over the Kapilavatthu country was King Ukkākarāga³. This King Ukkākarāga had five daughters and four sons, the eldest son was King Ukkāmukha⁴. When his queen died, he raised a princess to the rank of his queen. This queen gave birth to a prince named Gantu. When the queen gave birth to Prince Gantu, King Ukkākarāga made her very handsome presents. As soon as Prince Gantu came of age, the queen asked the king to make him king. Ukkākarāga said to her, "While there are my four elder sons, I cannot make him king." However, as the queen constantly repeated her request, King Ukkākarāga at last called his four

¹ The royal race from which Gotama descended.

² Manuscript has Kosiyā. ³ Okkaka in the Suttanipata.

⁴ His five wives were called Hattha Kittā Gantu Galā Vissakā his four sons Okkāmukha Kavakandū Hatthin ko Nipuro his four daughters Piya Suppiya Ānanda Vigha Vighasena.

sons, and said to them, "From the time the queen gave birth to my son *Gantu*, I have conferred continual benefits upon her, now she has asked me to give the royal place to *Gantu*. Since I cannot tell whether the queen has good or evil intentions towards my sons, take elephants, horses, and soldiers, as many as you wish, and settling in some suitable place, take up your residence there. When I am dead, assume the royal power by turns"¹

The four princes made obeisance to their royal father, and set out on their journey, the five princesses also accompanied their brothers. The cavalcade of country people, elephants, horses, and soldiers that attended them, extended to the length of four *yoganas*. The eldest son of King *Ukkālharīga*, with his younger brothers, made search for a proper site for a city. At this time, my lord the Rishi *Kapila*, who was skilled in the characteristic signs of ground, in searching for a site for a monastery, had observed on a particular spot a deer pursuing a tiger. "This," said he, "is an auspicious spot," and he built a monastery there and took up his residence in it. The princes, while looking for a site for their city, fell in with the Rishi. My lord the Rishi asked the princes what they were doing, and they told him they were in search of a site for a city. "If this be so," said my lord the Rishi, "build a palace in the neighbourhood of my monastery, and erect your city in the vicinity, you have my permission." The princes, having received the permission of my lord the Rishi, erected a city and resided there. In consequence of the city having been built near the monastery of the Rishi *Kapila*, it was called the city of *Kapilavatthu*.

¹ Manuscript omits "by turns"

One day, some time after this, the four princes, placing their eldest sister in the position of mother, married each one, one of their younger sisters. When their royal father, King Ukkakāṣya, heard of this he said, "Most excellent are my sons and daughters," and highly applauded them.

In consequence of Prince Ukkāmukha's eldest sister being afflicted with leprosy throughout all her body, her brothers one day dug a cave, and after stocking it with abundance of grain and other provisions of all kinds, shut her up in it, and closed the entrance.

At this time the great King Rama, who ruled over the Benares country, being covered all over with leprosy, gave over charge of his dominions to his son, and went away to live in the forest. After eating the medicines and roots of the forest, he was cured of the leprosy, and his appearance became like gold. Freed from his disease, he travelled along, eating wild fruits and roots as he went, and arrived at the place where Prince Ukkāmukha's sister had been shut up in the cave. Climbing into a tree, he went to sleep. A tiger, scratching at the cave with his claws, frightened the princess, and she began to scream, and the tiger ran away. King Rama, hearing her cries, came down and dug open the cave, finding there was a human being there, he said, "Come out." The princess replied, "I am a king's daughter, I will not come out." King Rama said, "I also am a king"—"If so," said the princess, "repeat the king's spell."¹ King Rama recited the king's spell, when he had done so, the

¹ The word both in the text and manuscript is *maya* an artifice but the correct word is probably *mantra* a charm or spell

princess said, "I am afflicted with leprosy"—"Do not be concerned about that," said the king, "for I also had leprosy, but by taking certain medicines, have completely cured myself." Hearing this, the princess came out, and after the king had given her the same medicines as he had himself used, she quite recovered from the leprosy, and her appearance became like gold. Remaining in that place, they married one another, and the princess gave birth to twin sons sixteen times, and all the thirty-two sons were like blocks of solid gold. These thirty-two royal sons married the daughters of their maternal uncles, in the country of Kapilavatthu. King Rama, continuing to reside in the same place, elected a city there, which, in consequence of his having cleared away a Koli¹ tree, he called the city of Koliya.

The two cities of Kapilavatthu and Koliya having so much increased by constant intermarriage among the inhabitants of each, the name [of the latter] was changed to Devadaha.

Over this Devadaha country Prince Añjana was king. Thus, after there had been a succession of more than eighty two thousand kings in the Kapilavatthu country, beginning from King Ulkāmukha, King Gyaśenā, the great grandfather of Parī Tāken, reigned over the Kapilavatthu country in an unbroken line of succession. This King Gyaśenā had a son Sihanu,² and a daughter Yasodharā. The queen of this King Sihanu was Queen Kañjanā, the sister of King Añjana, who reigned over the Devadaha country. This King Sihanu's sister Yasodharā married King Añjana, and

¹ The jujube tree.

² In Pali Sālānu. Sanskrit Sīmālānu so called because his cheek bones were like those of a lion.

became queen, each married the other's sister, and both the princesses became queens. Kaṇṭhanā, the queen of King Sihana, gave birth to King Suddhodana the royal father of Parā Taken, King Dhotodana, King Sukkodana, King Amitodana, and King Ukyodana,¹ these five sons² She had also two daughters, Princess Amitā and Princess Palitī. King Añjana's wife, Queen Yasodharā, gave birth to two sons, Prince Suppabuddha and Prince Dandapāmi, and two daughters, Sīmahāmāyā and Paṇḍapatigotamī. When the Brahmans interpreted the characteristics of these two princesses, Sīmahāmāyā and Paṇḍapatigotamī, they declared that they would give birth to a Kakravartī king. Accordingly the two sisters Sīmahāmāyā and Paṇḍapatigotamī were raised to the rank of queens of King Suddhodana. Sīmahāmāyā gave birth to Parā Taken,³ and Paṇḍapatigotamī gave birth to Prince Nanda and Ganapadakalyāṇi. The Princess Amitā, the sister of King Suddhodana, married Prince Suppabuddha, and gave birth to Devadatta and Princess Bimbā, the Princess Bimbā's name was changed afterwards to Yasodharā, the name of the grandmother of Parā Taken, marrying the Paralaun my lord Siddhattha, she gave birth to Rahula, and received the name of "the sacred mother of Rāhula."

At that time there were in the Kāpilavatthu country eighty thousand, all of the sacred family of Parā Taken, and eighty thousand also in the country of Devadaha.

END OF THE GENEALOGY OF PARĀ TAKEN

¹ Sukkodana in the com. to the Suttanipata

² Manuscript says 'four sons' and omits Ukyodana

³ Manuscript has the 'Paralaun Taken'

CHAPTER XXVII

UPON THE TAKING OF CONSECRATED PROPERTY AND
THE TWENTY ONE KINDS OF EVIL DOERS

No one must eat the food which belongs to Parā the law and the priests. Whoever eats of it shall suffer heavy punishment hereafter. In the time of the Parī Kassapa a crow, because he had eaten some rice from a Rahan s t/abet, became a Preta crow¹ on the Kikkā l ut mountain. Whatever has been set aside for Parā, the law and the priests such as monasteries fields, corn water for cultivation etc. no one from a king downwards must take. whoever takes or uses such shall hereafter suffer for a long period in the lowest hell. Whatever has been offered and set aside as consecrated property for Parā the law, and the priests, such as houses gardens fields gold silver copper, slaves etc. whoever shall take for his use shall become a Preta and bear sufferings in hunger and thirst. The rewards of offering and setting aside property as consecrated are great power and authority, but kings who make use of consecrated property shall be bereft of all power and authority and shall become Pretas.

¹ A being in a state of punishment of a lower kind than an animal.

Any Rahan who knows that property is consecrated, and shall not say so, shall suffer the punishment of the four hells; if he say so, he shall escape hell. Although any one shall give a substitute for a Pagoda slave, he cannot liberate him, for the slaves set aside by kings as consecrated property for the five thousand years of the church, are fixed and settled for the five thousand years of the church.¹ Whoever from kings downwards shall break the continuity of the consecration for the five thousand years of the church, and resume the property, will pass into the lowest hell. If a king who has obtained the *Kakri*² shall destroy any of the consecrated property belonging to the three jewels, his *Kakri* jewel shall disappear. Kings who repeatedly destroy consecrated property, shall not die in their own country, but in some other land.

I will give an instance. King Pasenadikosala, taking bribes from heretics, settled upon them a plot of consecrated ground to the west of the *Getvama* monastery of Parī Taken, as a site for a monastery, on account of this he was not able to stay in his own country, but died in a *Zayat* in a strange land. King Pasenadikosala, one of Parī Taken's *Darakas*, who had made incomparable offerings, even he, for the sake of a bribe, settled upon others consecrated land, accordingly he did not die in his own country, but he had to wander in other lands, and ultimately perished in a ruined *Zayat*. The book *Sutta* says, "Kings who

¹ The dispensation of Gotama is supposed to last for five thousand years when another Para will appear. About one half of this period has now elapsed.

² A fabulous weapon.

repeatedly destroy (the title of) consecrated land shall lose all their authority "

Slaves who have been offered to pagodas can only be employed in cleaning pagodas They must not wait upon kings or any one else If those who have great power and authority employ pagoda slaves, they will lose their power and die a frightful death, they will come to misery and destruction so it is written in the book Sutta No one must take as a bribe property which has been offered for the use of the priesthood, if they commit this offence, they will come to ruin Slaves in the employ of Rahans, on the death of those Rahans become consecrated property Those who offend by employing the slaves which belong to Rahans shall lose all they possess so it is written in the book Sutta Whoever shall take for himself or for another any consecrated land shall become a mite or a white ant upon that consecrated land for the whole of a hundred thousand cycles

The sacred law, thus preached (by Parā Taken), is written in the book Āyu of the holy church

After passing through the eight stages of the great hells they shall have the condition of Pretas, from which twenty Parīs cannot free them, after which they shall become insects and white ants in the consecrated monasteries and lands Therefore kings, nobles officers poor people, every one must take care not to take or injure lands for wet or dry cultivation, elephants houses slaves bullocks gold silver, paddy, rice clothes utensils or any description whatever of consecrated property Those who take or those who injure such property will have to suffer, as already stated in hell and as Pretas

- Any one who kills a man ¹
- Any one who destroys cities and villages
- Any one who, possessed by a Nat,² steals the property of another
- ✓Any one who works as a blacksmith ³
- Any one who drinks⁴ intoxicating liquors
- Any one who sells poison
- Any one who has a grant of the tolls at the barriers
- ✓Any one employed as a general
- Any one who collects taxes ⁵
- A hunter
- A fisherman
- A judge who takes bribes
- A Rahan who has committed an unpardonable sin
- A man who steals another's wife
- A woman who commits adultery
- Any one who gathers honey
- Any one who poisons or drugs fish
- Any one who offends against his parents
- Any one who ruins a female Rahan
- Any one who performs the process of castration
- Any one who injures the church of the Parī—

repeatedly destroy (the title of) consecrated land shall lose all their authority "

Slaves who have been offered to pagodas can only be employed in cleaning pagodas They must not wait upon kings or any one else If those who have great power and authority employ pagoda slaves, they will lose their power and die a frightful death, they will come to misery and destruction so it is written in the book Sutta No one must take as a bribe property which has been offered for the use of the priesthood, if they commit this offence they will come to ruin Slaves in the employ of Rahans, on the death of those Rahans become consecrated property Those who offend by employing the slaves which belong to Rahans shall lose all they possess so it is written in the book Sutta Whoever shall take for himself or for another any consecrated land shall become a mite or a white ant upon that consecrated land for the whole of a hundred thousand cycles

The sacred law thus preached (by Para Taken) is written in the book Ayn of the holy church

After passing through the eight stages of the great hells they shall have the condition of Pretas from which twenty Paras cannot free them after which they shall become insects and white ants in the consecrated monasteries and lands Therefore kings nobles officers poor people every one must take care not to take or injure lands for wet or dry cultivation elephants horses slaves bullocks gold silver paddy rice clothes utensils or any description whatever of consecrated property Those who take or those who injure such property will have to suffer as already stated in hell and as Pretas

Any one who kills a man.¹

Any one who destroys cities and villages.

Any one who, possessed by a Nat,² steals the property of another.

✓ Any one who works as a blacksmith.³

Any one who drinks⁴ intoxicating liquors.

Any one who sells poison.

Any one who has a grant of the tolls at the barriers.

✓ Any one employed as a general.

Any one who collects taxes.⁵

A hunter.

A fisherman.

A judge who takes bribes.

A Rahan who has committed an unpardonable sin.

A man who steals another's wife.

A woman who commits adultery.

Any one who gathers honey.

Any one who poisons or drugs fish.

Any one who offends against his parents.

Any one who ruins a female Rahan.

Any one who performs the process of castration.

Any one who injures the church of the Parā—

These twenty-one kinds of people, on account of their evil deeds, will fall into the lowest hell. In this way, Parā Taken preached the law, knowing all the people without exception who would fall into hell. Among the people who commit these twenty-one kinds of evil actions, there are nineteen who, if they see their

¹ Printed text says "a Rahan or a man"

² Thus in both text and manuscript.

³ *I.e.* who makes weapons

⁴ Text says, "who sells intoxicating liquors."

⁵ The text and manuscript differ here, the former says "a ploughman"

evil ways, perform good works listen to the Law, steadfastly observe Saranigamanā and the five commandments, and keep good watch over their bodies, shall be released from their sins, but the hunter and the fisherman, let them attend pagodas, listen to the Law, and keep the five commandments to the end of their lives, still they cannot be released from their sins. So it is laid down in the book Sutta

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE STORY OF KING KAKAVANNA

A RAHANDA once preached the Law to King Kakavanna, his queen, and concubines in the island of Ceylon. King Kākavanna, filled with love for the Law, resolved to make an offering of the putzo which he was wearing. In a spirit of niggardliness, however, he thought he would defer the offering till the next day. Two crows, a husband and wife, who were perched upon the tree, at the foot of which the Law had been preached, knowing what was passing in the king's mind, said to each other, "The king, from his niggardly spirit, excellent as the Law is, cannot make up his mind to make an offering of the putzo." Neither the queen, nor the concubines, nor the nobles, understood what the two crows were saying to each other, but the king, directly he heard the sound of the crows, knew what they said. "O you pair of crows," he exclaimed, "how dare you speak so of a king like me?" The crows replied, "Your Majesty, do not take the putzo you have at home, but make an offering of the one you are wearing, worth a hundred thousand (pieces of gold). In seven days hence, you will receive the five rewards." The king smiled at the crows'

speech My lord the Rahanda, who had been preaching the Law, said to the king, "Why does your Majesty smile at me?"—"I was not smiling at my lord Rahanda," replied the king, "I was smiling at what the two crows said" The Rahanda, who possessed the Nat's eye, which could behold eight past and eight future existences, and who saw the previous life of the king, said to him, "Great king, I will tell you something, will you be angry with me?"—"My lord," replied the king, "I shall not be angry with you, deign to tell it to me" My lord the Rahanda proceeded, "When your Majesty was a poor man in the Anurādha country, you used to collect firewood, and live by the sale of it One day, when you went out to your work, you took with you a small cupful of boiled rice Coming across a heap of white sand which looked like sheet silver, you reflected that your poverty must have been occasioned by your not possessing the merit of having made offerings, and accordingly you raised a pagoda of the white sand, placed in front of it, as an offering, one half of the rice you had with you, and gave the remaining half to the crows to eat, as an offering to the Rahans These two crows, husband and wife, are the very same two crows who ate the rice of which you made the offering when you were a poor man" When the king heard this, he exclaimed, "Oh, how unstable is prosperity! I have obtained the position of a king only from making offerings at a sand pagoda!" so saying, he made an offering to the Law of the putzo he was wearing, and which was worth a hundred thousand (pieces of gold) Seven days afterwards the five rewards came to the king The five rewards were these —

The Nats, wrapping up in a t^hingan the relics of an excellent Rahanda who had obtained Paranibbāna, while he was up in the sky, and which were like a jasmine-bud, came and laid them down before the king. In front of his palace a mountain of gold arose. The Nats brought a virgin from the island of Uttarakuru. This woman was ten cubits in stature; she brought with her a kunsā¹ of rice, which, though one were to cook it and eat it during a whole lifetime, would never be exhausted. An elephant of priceless value, which could travel a hundred yojanas even before breakfast. Seven vessels arrived at the port completely filled with valuable putzos. In return for the offering the king had made to the law, these five rewards came to him.

END OF THE STORY OF KING KAKAVANNA.

¹ Name of a measure.

CHAPTER XXIX

STORY OF THE RAHANDAMA UPIALAVANNA

I WILL NOW give an account of the reward of the offering of the crimson cloth —

There lived in the city of Benares a poor man's daughter, who being very desirous of having a crimson cloth to wear, in order to obtain one, went and remained in service with a *Thugyue* for three years. As soon as she had procured one, she went down to the river to bathe, and leaving the garment on the bank, went into the water. At this moment one of Parā Taken's disciples, whose *Tāngan* and *Tānbaing*¹ had been stolen by thieves made his appearance dressed in leaves. The young girl, when she saw him said to herself 'Some thieves must have stolen this Taken's² *Tāngan* and *Tānbaing*, I too, from not having before made any offerings, have found it hard to procure any clothes.' So saying she cut off half of her crimson garment, and made an offering of it to him. The Taken, after going into a secluded place and putting on the half of the crimson cloth, came back to the *Tagama*. When the poor *Tagama* saw the handsome

¹ Art cles of a priest's cloth ug

² A ttle answer ng to master lord

appearance the Taken presented in the crimson garment, she said, "Just as Taken is handsome, may I also in all my future existences be possessed of beauty!" Then she continued in poetry, "Lord and master, even as my lord and master is beautiful in this garment, so also may I become an object of admiration, and be a gainer of hearts!" Such was her prayer. Then Taken preached to the poor woman the advantages to be derived from making offerings of clothing, as follows —

"Sister, if any one be endowed with all the beauty of the Nats, and be decorated with gold and silver and all kinds of ornaments, yet if he be without a putzo, he would not present a comely appearance, therefore, excellent is the offering of garments. Who ever is always neat and seemly in his apparel meets with respect, and, with a soft and delicate complexion and handsome appearance, gains all hearts, and is beloved by all." The Taken, after thus preaching the Law, took his departure.

The poor woman who had made the offering of the crimson cloth, when she died out of the land of men, appeared in the Nat country, where she enjoyed all the luxury and splendour of the Nats. After completing her existence in the Nat country, she became the daughter of the *Thuthe Sirivaddhana* in the *Arithapura* country. The young girl, who was so beautiful that people went mad when they saw her, was called *Unmadanti*. When his daughter was sixteen years of age, the *Thuthe Sirivaddhana* went to the king of *Arithapura* and said, "In my house I have a jewel daughter." The king ordered the Brahmins to go and interpret her characteristics. When the Brahmins went to the *Thuthe's* house for this purpose, *Sirivad*

dhana set rice and dainty food before them, just then, Unmādaṇṭī appeared, dressed magnificently. The Brahmins, as soon as they saw her, went mad; one put a handful of rice on the top of his head, another made a mistake and put it into a hole in the floor, another put it inside his ear, another under his armpit. When Unmādaṇṭī saw the Brahmins behaving in this way, she ordered her slaves to turn them out of the house. The Brahmins, enraged at this, went and reported to the king that she was a very low kind of woman; and the king accordingly would not take her. The *Thuthe* *Sirivaddhana* then gave his daughter Unmādaṇṭī in marriage to the prime minister.

Unmādaṇṭī, dying out of that state of existence, appeared again in the Nat country; dying out of the Nat country, she became in the time of the Parā Gotama, a *Thuthe's* daughter in the Sāvattṭhi country, as fair as a water-lily. She was called Uppalavannā. The beauty of the *Thuthe's* daughter Uppalavannā was celebrated throughout the whole of the Island of Gambudvīpa. Every one of the kings of the island came with magnificent presents to induce the *Thuthe* to give him his lovely daughter, but *Sirivaddhana*, thinking that if he gave her to one, all the others would be angry, made her a Rahan. Reaching the stage of a Rahanda, she received the name of Uppalavannā Rahandama.

END OF THE STORY OF UPPALAVANNA RAHANDAMA
THERĪ.

CONCLUSION

As a deposit of mud which is produced from water, may by water be washed away again, so sins which are produced by the mind, by the mind can be cleansed away

SCHEME OF transliteration

CONSONANTS

	PALI	BURMESE	
Gutturals	k kh g gh n	k kh g gh n	
Palatals	ḱ ḱh ḡ ḡh n	s hs z hz n	The first four letters pronounced by the Burmese as dental s b lants
Languals	t th d dh n	t th d dh n	
Dentals	t th d dh n	t th d dh n	Pronounced by the Burmese as dentals
Labials	p ph b bh m	p ph b bh m	
Semivowels	y r l v	y r l w	r pronounced differently by the Burmese as y pronounced by Burmese as th in Eng theatre
Sibilant	s	th	
Aspirate	h	h	
Langual	l	l	pronounced by Burmese as ordinary l

VOWELS					
PALI			BURMESE		
a	as	a in America	a	as	a in French patte
ā	as	ā in bar	ā	as	ā in bar
i	as	"i in p n	i	as	i in p i
ī	as	ee in i ct	ī	as	ee in feet
u	as	u in put	u	as	u in put
ū	as	oo in boot	ū	as	oo in boot
e	as	a in pay	e	as	a in pay
o	as	o in hope	o	as	o in hope
			ai	as	i in light
			au	as	o in how
			e	as	e in let
			ē	as	é in French thé
			ē	as	ai in fairy
			o	as	o in nor

NB—The anuvāra in the Pāl forms is represented by the letter *va*. In Burmese it is impossible to distinguish it by any character as it takes the place of an *m* or *n* all three characters being in a great measure used indifferently without any fixed rule.

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Gantu
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Givaka
Getavana

Gayasena

T

Takkasila
Tavatinsa
Tissa
Tissamahavihara

D

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¹ N B — Always pronounced Para Taken

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R

Rajagaha

Rama

Rāhula

L

Latthi

Lokavi

Lokatiśa

V

Vanga

Vāśuladatta

Vidadupa

Vimānopeta

Visakha

Vet/āḍipaka

Velāma

Veluvana

Vesālī

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